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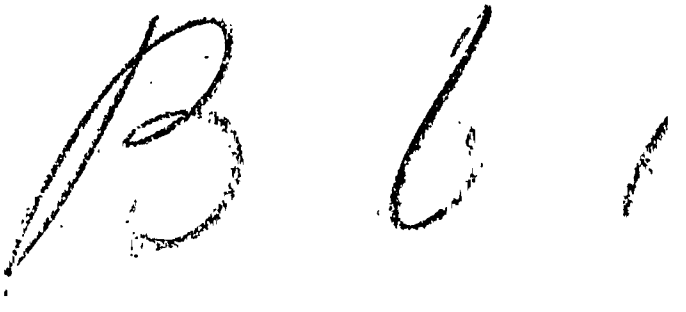
EWALD'S

HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

VOL. IV.



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THE

HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

BY

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Professor of the University of Göttingen.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

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CC

EDITED BY

J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, M.A.

'The Old Testament will still be a New Testament to him who comes with a fresh desire of information.' .....FULLER.

VOL. IV.

From the Disruption of the Monarchy to its Fall.

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DISRUPTION AND DECLINE OF THE KINGDOM.

INTRODUCTION.

Israel had now of its own accord, though not without the influence of a higher force, entered on a new phase of its existence, in which the question would inevitably arise whether or not it would succeed in finding that larger prosperity which was the fond hope of the majority. It brought with it out of its past into the new and unknown future which lay before it, an abundance of recently-acquired material blessings, the elevating sense of extensive power and dignity among the other nations of the world, together with the strong impulse to seek after wisdom in every department of Nature and life. But those who were moved by a deeper and sincerer spirit further carried with them into the new age the clear consciousness that Israel had only attained this prosperity and importance by a faithful and strenuous adhesion to the true religion, and they kept up either the active aspiration after a still more perfect king than David, or the blessed recollection of how the goal of this new stage of their history, the perfect human king of the community of the true God, had been in David almost if not altogether reached. That Solomon had, in the latter part of his reign, fallen further and further below this standard, was plainly recognised by the prophets and all the better minds of Israel; but neither of the two states into which the monarchy was now divided, had any clear idea how it was to be attained.

1. The balance, however, at first inclined in every respect in favour of the northern kingdom, separated from the house of David. It far surpassed the southern, in the first place, in the extent of its territory, and the amount of its population. Ten tribes, says the narrative, revolted from the house of David;

only one remained loyal to it. Some obscurity, however, hangs over the precise interpretation of their numerical proportion, and the exact determination of the frontiers of the two states where they were contiguous. The previous history of the tribe of Levi forbids us to suppose that it was included in the computation on either side. Nor can these numbers take in the tribe of Simeon, for there is no proof that any portion of its territory remained with the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, of which it might thus perhaps have been regarded as a tenth part.[1] The territory of the tribe of Dan had, indeed, in consequence of earlier disasters, been partly occupied by Judah,[2] and these districts were now entirely amalgamated with it;[3] but the rest certainly remained as a full tribe with the northern kingdom. On the other hand, the position of the tribe of Benjamin was now of necessity entirely altered. Allied by its early history with Joseph, and not with Judah, it now saw itself attracted equally strongly to the latter by the situation of Jerusalem on its ancient territory.[4] It was consequently really divided between the two kingdoms, as Jerusalem lay on its border on the extreme south. Some districts which were too near Jerusalem, and could be too easily dominated by this powerful fortress, remained, together with Jerusalem itself, in the possession of Judah; those places, however, which their past history had rendered most sacred or at any rate most memorable, Bethel,[5] Gilgal,[6] or Jericho,[7] and some others were incor-

[1] It might be supposed that the solitary Beersheba in the extreme south was attached to the kingdom of the Ten Tribes because Amos v. 5, viii. 14 adduces it with two other cities belonging to the northern kingdom as a seat of idolatrous worship to which the inhabitants made pilgrimages. But similar idol worship might have existed at the time of Amos under the government of Judah; and it is expressly assigned to Judah 1 Kings xix. 3.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 289 sq.

[3] Thus the city of Zorah remained in the possession of Judah, according to 2 Chron. xi. 10.

[4] It must be observed that there was a great difference under the monarchy compared with earlier times in the fact that the Davidic kingdom was obliged, just like a Phœnician or Grecian state, to gather round one great fortified city. It is no longer, as before, a community uniting within itself a mass of different tribes or even of peoples; it consists essentially only of one great fortified city with its often discontented territory; and the *City* becomes to such an extent its centre, that it is henceforth even called briefly עִיר i.e. ἡ πόλις. The general national life contracts within narrower and narrower limits. In the warmth and closeness of this circle, it produces (just as in an ancient Phœnician, Greek, or Latin city) the most vigorous and active or the most vicious results within the whole range of antiquity, which we still describe by the name of Politics, derived from this source. In a city life of this sort the great families possessed much importance, which, in the course of centuries, naturally increased; to what extent that was the case in Judah also may be seen from Is. xxii. 20 sqq.; Zech. xii. 12–14; Jer. xxvi. 24, xxxix. 14, and other passages.

[5] Bethel is often described as belonging to the northern kingdom; as to what tribe it belonged to, see ii. p. 413 and note.

[6] It appears as belonging to this kingdom in Amos iv. 4, v. 5; Hos. iv. 15, ix. 15; 2 Kings ii. 1, iv. 38; cf. also ii. p. 244 sqq.

[7] According to 1 Kings xvi. 34, 2 Kings ii. 4 sqq.

porated in the northern kingdom. Only a few certain indications[1] remain to enable us to trace the interdigitations of the frontier thus constituted between the two kingdoms; and we know that it was an occasional subject of dispute.[2] If, however, the tribe of Benjamin was thus divided, it is clear that that portion which was not added to Judah could enter the northern kingdom as a separate tribe. While, however, the northern kingdom was composed of ten tribes, the tenth being at any rate only partially curtailed, and a certain diversity among the tribes could still make itself felt, the southern kingdom consisted of Judah alone, as an independent tribe, in which Simeon was already virtually absorbed, and to which were attached portions of Benjamin as well as some other small territories which possessed no individual importance.[3] This, at any rate, was in accordance with the oldest and simplest view of the twelve sons of Jacob, and it became the popular and recognised expression. The loss of Simeon might be considered more than made up by the division of Joseph into two tribes. It is, however, obvious that there might be other modes of reckoning, according to which the northern kingdom would include only nine tribes and a half.[4]

The division of the Davidic monarchy further involved the division of empire over the foreign nations hitherto subject to Israel. Those on the north, together with those east of the Dead Sea, as far as Moab, naturally fell to the northern king-

[1] The only passage from which we may gather a little more definitely the extent of the kingdom of Judah north of Jerusalem is Is. x. 28–32; such at least was its extent at the time of Isaiah. According to this, the most northern place was Aiath, not far from Bethel, since it is certainly to be identified with Ai; see ii. p. 247 sqq. But the city of Geba (Is. x. 29), which probably lay on the direct highway to the north, was often quoted to indicate the northern limit, just as Rimmon or Beersheba represented the extreme southern; Zech. xiv. 10, 2 Kings xxiii. 8; cf. 1 Kings xv. 22.

[2] So, for instance, a tedious war was undertaken by the kingdom of the Ten Tribes for the city of Ramah in Benjamin, 1 Kings xv. 17–22; cf. 2 Chron. xiii. 19.

[3] The most complete designation of the southern kingdom is found, therefore, in the words 1 Kings xii. 23, cf. 21, 'the whole house of Judah with Benjamin and the rest of the people.' 'The rest of the people' included, for instance, Simeon, as much of it at least as still possessed any name, as well as the territory of the city of Ziklag, iii. p. 99 sqq. This latter place indeed belonged, according to Josh. xix. 5, cf. xv. 31, in the earliest age to the tribe of Simeon; long before the time of David, however, it came into the possession of the Philistines, and was not reunited to Judah till his time. That Simeon was not included in the possessions of Judah might be deduced from the narrative in 2 Chron. xv. 9, cf. xxxiv. 6 alone; but the Chronicler is here giving a free representation in his own style, and besides only mentions Simeon in passing.

[4] The Syriac Epistle of Baruch (see vol. v. p. 209) reckons the northern kingdom as composed of nine tribes and a half; so also 4 Ezr. xiii. 40, according to the true reading in the Arabic; the Ethiopic here has nine, the Latin ten.

dom;[1] while, in like manner, those on the south, including Edom, which derived special importance from its harbour, could not be easily severed from Judah. In fact, it was on the south that there was the least likelihood of disturbance of the rule of Judah. The conquests of David had secured to it a vast tract of country, extending to the western and eastern arms of the Red Sea. The development of commerce in Solomon's time had rendered the continued possession of Edom highly desirable; and the losses now sustained by Judah in other quarters evidently excited a proportionate effort for the preservation of these provinces. The Philistine territories ought, for the most part, to have fallen to Judah; but they extended on the north to the frontiers of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. This position was rendered especially dangerous by the jealousy between the two kingdoms, and made it all the easier for the Philistines to accomplish their ever-active desire, and throw off the yoke of Israel.

But the kingdom of the Ten Tribes had a greater source of pride in its national importance than in its superiority of population. There might be a brighter glow on Judah and Jerusalem of modern glory and prosperity; but it was the kingdom of the Ten Tribes which preserved the proudest traditions and relics of a remote antiquity. There was the memory of Jacob, bound up so intimately with ancient sanctuaries in the very heart of the sacred land;[2] there was the renown of Joseph's splendid rule in Egypt in days gone by; there was the dignity of the tribe of Joseph, which had risen under Joshua to be the leading tribe in Canaan also, and had never since entirely relinquished its privileges; there were all the holy places which, in the time of Joshua, had been made the joy and bond of the whole people, and which, in spite of Jerusalem, still possessed for many hearts an undiminished sanctity. Moreover, it evidently continued to be a general belief that the soil of central Canaan was the sacred land which gave birth to monarchs, and without possessing which no one could be a proper king in Israel.[3] And so, though Judah might separate itself, this kingdom might well appear to take the place of the glorious Israel of old, and its

[1] Amos vi. 14 proves that the Nahal-Arabim in the south-east, also called the Zered, which bounded Moab on the south, was also the boundary of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes (cf. ii. p. 200 sqq.); hence it might be said in a general way that the boundary was formed by the end of the Dead Sea, 2 Kings xiv. 25.

[2] Vol. i. p. 306 sq.

[3] This had been also proved by the time which elapsed before Ish-bosheth was anointed and recognised as king, iii. pp. 109, 112 sq.

monarchs seem to be carrying on the reign of Saul with its storms of war. It thus assumed without opposition the name of 'Israel.' In more elevated language the prophets (Amos, for instance) also called it Jacob, or sometimes Isaac, or Joseph; but the contemptuous designation of it, simply as Ephraim, after the half tribe of Joseph, was a bold innovation of the prophet Hosea, first introduced towards the time of its dissolution, in which he was followed by other prophets of a similar spirit.[1]

The most important feature, however, and at the same time the source of the greatest temptations, in the separation of this kingdom from Judah, was the opportunity which it now had of avoiding all the errors into which the house of David had fallen during the last years of Solomon. This was, in fact, the real object of its existence, in order that it might thus attain a more perfect form of monarchy. It was to this kingdom that all the best hopes of the nation were transferred, while even the most influential prophets had desired, or at any rate had not hindered, the change in the ruling family; and it was certainly expected that as the house of David had formerly surpassed that of Saul, so the new line of Jeroboam would far outshine that of David. This advance was to be secured by the severe discipline and chastisement freely practised by the prophets alike on king and people—a camp of prophets beside a camp of kings.

But this very belief in the possibility of improving, and even perfecting the monarchy by merely changing the dynasty, and increasing the severity of the prophetic discipline, was the great mistake of the age. Shared in also by prophetism, that is by the deepest and most spiritual power of those ages, in the course of events it inevitably exerted the same force for the destruction of the new kingdom as it had previously done for its creation. It was very possible for a man

[1] For instance, by the unknown prophet, Zech. ix.; and also by Isaiah. Hosea himself does not use the name Ephraim till the mocking address iv. 17. On the other hand, after its fall, later prophets rightly return to the name Israel, as in Jer. iii. 6 sqq. If the name Israel is at times conversely interchanged with Judah, this is only permitted in higher style, and in a connexion in which there is no possibility of any misunderstanding. The name of Jacob seems to be sometimes given to Judah in contrast to Israel as the higher name, Jer. ii. 4, cf. 3; Obad. 18; Is. xlvi. 3. Besides, it may be remarked that the more general name Israel began to be more frequently used for Judah as the kingdom of the Ten Tribes declined, or after it had been long destroyed; thus in the Chronicles Israel is sometimes equivalent to Judah. Among the historical books, Chronicles alone often designate those who belonged to the northern kingdom as 'sons of Ephraim.' It seems curious that in Nah. ii. 3 [2] *Jacob* should stand for Judah in the same sentence in which Israel stands for the other kingdom.

just called to the throne out of the dust,[1] possessed by the power and truth of prophetic utterance, and touched by the prophetic consecration, to enter on his duties with the best intentions, as has been represented typically with wonderful truth in the elevation of Saul.[2] But as soon as he had seized the reins of government, he could not help desiring, if he were a man of energy (and no one who was not would be selected), to exercise the whole power of the crown in the complete form in which he had already seen it at Jerusalem; for it is the nature of this power to comprise all departments of the State in its authority, and bring everything into a closer unity. He might be expected, therefore, to make many changes in the arrangements prevailing in Jerusalem, but he would fall back essentially into the same method of government; and in seeking to liberate himself from the great power of the prophets, he would the more readily slide, in the absence of any strong barriers of law to oppose him, into that system of arbitrary rule which he ought to avoid, and would thus alienate himself from the pure religion of Jahveh as much as he ought to have approximated to it. This, again, could not satisfy the prophets of Jahveh. They therefore soon raised whispers of misgiving or louder threats against the very king and house that their own words had elevated. And so one dynasty was overthrown after another, in consequence, though sometimes indirectly, of the restlessness excited by the opposition of the prophets. The whole history of this kingdom, for more than two centuries and a half, is resolved, in the last resort, into the contest, gigantic alike by the forces brought into play and the length of its duration, between the two independent powers of the ancient community, prophetism and the crown. The same prophetism which had formerly been instrumental under Samuel in establishing the monarchy in Israel in accordance with the national wish, had now founded that of the new kingdom, and might well consider itself, or rather Jahveh himself, by whose spirit it felt itself supported, as its true founder. And so it conceived an irresistible desire, which was in fact really noble and unselfish, to watch over the young monarchy;[3] nor must this burning desire, which was quite innocent, in spite of the error it concealed, be confounded with the contrivances of the Papacy of the Middle Ages to secure worldly advantages. But still the perfect king whom they looked for

[1] Comp. the expression of the older composer of the history of the kings, 1 Kings xiv. 7, or that of the poet of the same period, 1 Sam. ii. 8.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 15 sqq.

[3] Only compare the real purport of such grand descriptions as that of the unknown prophet of the eighth century, Zech. xi. 4–17, xiii. 7–9, as well as the whole of the book of Hosea.

would not come; and every new dynasty fell into the faults of its predecessor, or into others still worse. And so the opposition on either side became more intense and irreconcilable. The crown soon took to persecuting prophetism with deadly hatred; but in the severest persecution it only rose with astounding power irresistibly triumphant, while its mere word acquired far more incisive and destructive force on the one hand, or was more salutary and strengthening on the other, than all the material weapons and expedients of the kings.[1] Yet when victorious it neither would nor could fill the place of the monarchy. The consequence was that the great complications and revolutions which were involved in the very origin of this kingdom speedily reappeared, until at length the monarchy succeeded in ridding itself of prophetism altogether; but with it the realm itself was torn from its base; rescue was impossible; and there was nothing left for it but headlong ruin.

After its attempt to surpass the glory of David, the kingdom of the Ten Tribes returned, partly on purpose, partly under the compulsion of events, to the condition of the infant monarchy under Saul; and finding no David to deliver it, it sank altogether into the most perilous condition of that earlier period. The great progress in general refinement, art, and civilisation, which had been begun in Israel by the two last kings, was violently broken off and repressed in this Israel of the Ten Tribes, so old and yet so young—indeed, to some extent, when the antagonism was more fully developed, intentionally so;[2] and while the kingdom wished to advance in its own way, this internal reaction against the spiritual blessings acquired elsewhere and their tranquil development hurled it back into the instability, the anarchy, and the weakness of the period of the Judges, from which it never succeeded in effecting its escape. Of course, all the evils concealed in this perverse retrogression only appeared gradually, though the germ of dissolution lay in the origin of the kingdom itself, and its fall was the inevitable consequence of its fundamental principles. And in the ever-increasing confusion of the kingdom the old religion still proved its wonderful power. To it belonged some of the greatest of the prophets; many of its kings, like the Judges of the people in former days, were borne into power, or

[1] The clearest evidence of this is found in proverbs and expressions such as Hos. vi. 5; Zech. xi. 9 sqq.; 1 Kings xix. 17; 2 Kings i. 10–14 on the one side, and such as 2 Kings ii. 12, xiii. 14, Zech. xi. 7 on the other. How the two independent powers could confront each other like two camps, may be seen from narratives like 2 Kings vi. 31–33.

[2] There is much resemblance in this to the manner in which the Reformation of the sixteenth century was put down by violence in many German as well as other countries. The consequences on either side were in many respects similar

maintained it when acquired, by their own deep impulse and strong spiritual force. The noble heart of the nation long resisted the ruin which threatened it, and on this kingdom, too, there now and then dawned better times. But no human effort could be of permanent avail. Three times the only powerful prince of a new dynasty was its founder; and after his son and successor had reigned two years,[1] the power passed into other hands. Even the dynasty which maintained itself the longest only got as far as five sovereigns, occupying about a century; and when the nation was near its end, in a retrospect of the fortunes of its kings, it could be said of them all that they had risen by blood, and by blood they had fallen.[2]

From the origin of the kingdom, it naturally follows that the monarchy remained essentially elective. Under vigorous sovereigns, it is true, it displayed a tendency to become hereditary, and the right of election seems never to have been placed on a basis of actual law. But since prophetism in Israel maintained all the authority it had possessed in Samuel's time, and confronted the crown as power against power, the natural result of this great struggle was that the monarchy remained, at least in the hands of the more powerful prophets, an elective one, in which even the humblest born might be raised to the throne,[3] and the king ranked only as the first among all the nobles as his *peers*.[4] Thus this very liberty contributed to produce the great instability from which the northern kingdom suffered.

And further, this kingdom, though instituted for the maintenance of the severest discipline and the restoration of ancient morality, fell very soon into their exact opposite, and sought in numberless ways to liberate itself from the dark and ill-timed constraint which it found imposed upon it by the obscure impulse of its origin. It speedily allowed the degeneration of the national god Jahveh into an image, and various sorts of heathen cultus, even the most indecent, nowhere entered more deeply into the life of the people.[5] The ill-defined freedom from which the kingdom took its rise brought about its own punishment; for, instead of attaining the stricter discipline which was imperatively demanded, it gradually sank into the grossest licentiousness.

[1] This remarkable circumstance appears quite uniformly in the cases of Jeroboam and Nadab, 1 Kings xv. 25; of Baasha and Elah, 1 Kings xvi. 8; of Menahem and Pekahiah, 2 Kings xv. 23.

[2] Hos. i. 4, vii. 7.

[3] There is a clear allusion to this in the song in 1 Sam. ii. 7 sq.

[4] According to Ps. xlv. 8 [7] further below.

[5] Compare the clear descriptions in Hosea, especially in ii. 7 sqq., ix. 1 sqq.

Its most characteristic feature, however, continued to be the antagonism between the royal and the prophetic authority; and the mortal contest which lasted for nearly three hundred years between these two great powers became at length the death struggle of this kingdom, which was by its origin peculiarly exposed to it, and had indeed been called into existence for the express purpose of fighting it out. But, in finally grinding each other to pieces, they only stripped off the most dangerous errors by which they were still encumbered. On the ashes of the kingdom there lay, equally prostrate, the oldest and most rigid form of prophetism, and the hope that the advent of the rightful and perfect king of the true community could be brought about by mere changes of government and dynasty, or by prophetic action and choice alone, or, worst of all, by violence and anarchy; and on the soil where the most tenacious efforts to maintain the early institutions of Israel only resulted in their speedy overthrow,—where the very prophetism which Samuel had organised carried on the most violent struggle and ruined itself by its own triumph,—there was an opportunity for a rich crop of new and fruitful truths to spring up for that true community which no contests or demolitions could destroy.

We must, however, be carefully upon our guard against ignoring the real grandeur and glory which the northern kingdom nevertheless attained. Its fall took place so much earlier and proved so much more irreparable than that of its sister state, that its whole history has been far less perfectly preserved; and even the evidences of its peculiar character which still remain are much more fragmentary and more difficult to recognise with any certainty. There is, therefore, all the more danger of depreciating it too much. Every fresh recovery, however, of the monuments of its internal development increases our admiration of the spirit which here, too, was long active. Not in vain did it, also, boast of being a kingdom of the true God. It was the scene of the labours of many of the noblest prophets, sages, and authors; all the arts flourished in it no less, nay, in its best days probably even more, than in Judah; and the growing difficulty of protecting the true religion only tended to perfect the good fruits which sprang from this ungenial soil.[1] From the point of view of the consummation of this great stage in the history of Israel, and consequently of the development of many eternal truths of religion, the separate existence and

[1] Not merely Canticles, but many of the most beautiful songs, such as Pss. xc., xxxix., lxii., xxi., xlv., Deut. xxxii., belong to the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. Among the prophets Hosea shines out pre-eminent over many others: the author of the Book of Job, the Deuteronomist, as well as some great historical writers, also came from it.

career of this powerful fragment of the nation were not without effect, in first of all removing the one-sided tendencies gaining ground in the house of David, and then, by its vain struggles and the increasing impossibility of retrieving its errors, more and more powerfully enforcing the better way. And who can imagine that all its kings, especially those who were anointed by such great prophets as Elijah and Elisha, were from first to last so wholly unworthy?[1] This much, however, is certain;—the nature of the origin and fundamental principles of this kingdom prevented its ever giving birth to any great movement towards a higher good, and so the evil tendencies, latent in it from the beginning, could not fail to gain a constantly recurring ascendency over even its best kings.[2]

2. Wholly different, both in its origin and in its further development, was the position of the kingdom of Judah. Its situation at first was most difficult, not only because it was the smaller, but also because, in this kingdom, all those destructive tendencies continued to operate, against which the kingdom of the Ten Tribes had made so powerful a protest. In Judah, however, all the civilisation, art, and refinement which the two great kings had established, remained in full force; and thus it possessed one great advantage, more than sufficient to counterbalance many drawbacks. Moreover, its monarchy was essentially the continuation of David's, and was, therefore, something quite different from that of its sister state. David had certainly had the consent and support of great prophets in establishing his kingdom, but he had also had to exert his own superiority and strength in the long and laborious struggle which accompanied its development; and he reigned thoroughly in the spirit and with the support of the nation, but by no means solely in consequence of receiving any random call and outward commission on its part. David, therefore, who was born to rule, had been the means of forming a state in which the monarchy was never, from the first, dependent on the powers external to it, such as prophetism or the rude will of the people, but confronted them with full consciousness of its own vocation, as well as its dignity and strength. Nor can any monarchy be genuine and truly bene-

[1] Who can suppose such a thing (we may now ask more pointedly) in view of such songs as 1 Sam. ii. 1–10, Pss. xxi., xlv.?

[2] The last composer of the history of the kings is the first to express a uniform condemnation of all these kings (i. p. 167), which is only just in as far as the results and lessons of the whole history of the kingdom are referred to, as well as its fundamental principles, as is indicated above.

ficent which is not in itself independent of all alien powers; which does not, in the midst of its salutary co-operation with them, refuse to allow itself to be determined by them further than the welfare of the state, i.e. of all, requires; and which cannot easily curb them when they deviate from the promotion of this end, and lead them back into the right path. Every good and necessary power must be entirely independent in order to have free scope for the exertions suited to its object. This is above all indispensable for the authority of the crown, whose function it is to unite all the available powers of the state, and direct them to the one national object; and it is most likely to become thus independent when it owes its existence solely to its own labour and its own superiority. Around the throne of David there gathered from the first a halo of true princely glory and sanctity which no storms in after days could ever wholly dispel; which emanating as it did from the midst of the immortal community of the true God, could not fail to possess a lasting significance and influence. It was the natural result that Judah witnessed the growth and secure establishment of true royal authority, of the immovability of the throne amid the storms of later times and the passions of contest, and of the unchallenged right of succession by which the crown was transmitted in calm and legitimate course without, at any rate, ever passing out of the same line. It is one of the wonders of antiquity, when dynasties had elsewhere so little permanence and stability, to see the same royal house holding its own firmly, through almost five centuries, amid every vicissitude and danger, with the people loyally banded round it,[1] while it in return acts as a powerful shield to their liberties, and finally falls only with the overthrow of the whole kingdom, crushed by sheer brute force from without. Such a monarchy might easily be betrayed temporarily into grave errors; but in the long run the clear example of its founder David, and the wealth of experience which is amassed in its undisturbed duration, were sure to bring it back to the eternal foundation of all true religion, and consequently of all healthful life. Moreover, its presence restrained prophetism from ever attaining such inordinate power, or acting in such a one-sided manner, as in the northern kingdom, and compelled it, if it

[1] It is true that the people occasionally deposed a king and elected in his place one of the princes, 2 Kings xiv. 19–21, but they never ventured to doubt the hereditary descent of the crown in the succession of the royal line itself. For this, however, an additional justification was afforded by the example of David, which showed that there was no necessity for the king's eldest son to become king; and to this extent, therefore, the right of succession was imperfectly carried out.

wished to labour with success, to rise to that inward perfection which, so far as it was finally attained, commands our lasting admiration. Here was an advance upon the good foundations already laid; and every error or perverted aim which tended to lead astray from these was invariably overcome, though often not without severe and weary struggles. On all the past greatness and glory of Israel Judah cast its free and cheerful gaze, and it delighted to protect and honour the praiseworthy achievements of David or Solomon. Before its kings floated the vision of great ancestors like David, and in a certain sense Solomon: before its prophets, examples like Nathan and Gad who laboured with David for the welfare of the state: before the whole people the memory of its lofty days under David and Solomon, not yet too remote. And so it affords us no unworthy example of the honourable part which may be played for many centuries in the history of the world, and the rich blessings which may be imparted, even by a little kingdom, provided it adheres faithfully to the eternal truth; for the gain to the higher life of humanity acquired under the earthly protection of this petty monarchy outweighs all that has been attempted or accomplished for the permanent good of man in an equal number of centuries by many much larger states.

It cannot, therefore, be a matter of surprise that the monarchy in Judah learned a lesson by the revolt of the Ten Tribes and other disasters which it involved, and tolerably soon righted itself from its errors in renewed strength; while, in the northern kingdom also, it gradually became apparent to how small an extent the desired good had been attained by the simple secession from the house of David. This inevitable change on both sides would have contained, it might be thought, the possibility of a reconciliation of the divided kingdoms, if one side could only have produced the marvellous power of a second David, and the other side had not been dominated by such extravagant arrogance [1] towards the smaller but ever-active Judah, which was jealous for its own independence; but in fact the antagonism between them lay much deeper. The intention in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes was to preserve the true old Israel, as distinguished from the rigid rule of David and Solomon and all that the creative powers of these princes had instituted; but the actual result was that it relapsed into grave errors and embarrassments, long since overcome. Judah, on the other hand, protected all that these great sovereigns had begun,

[1] This arrogance did not even diminish at the unhappy close of the kingdom, Is. ix. 8 sqq., xxviii. 1–4.

and permitted its tranquil development. As soon as the obscurity of the age began to clear off, and its confused elements could be disentangled, all those characteristics which had for many centuries been inextricably blended more or less in the whole people, necessarily ranged themselves more and more distinctly under the two kingdoms; all the lower and darker impulses concealed themselves chiefly in the north, all the better and more indispensable in the south; the movement of the national life was retrograde in the one, and progressive in the other. Prophetism in the north put forth the most violent exertions and spasmodic efforts of every kind; in the south it necessarily assumed from the beginning a different position. In the north, first from weakness and in self-defence, and then from habit which grew upon it, the monarchy was betrayed into acts of increasing violence and arbitrariness, so that everything was soon at the mercy of soldiers and generals, of immediate emergency, of sudden excitement and exhaustion, enthusiasm and animosity; in the south, on the other hand, everything was developed with a proportionate calmness and regularity. Thus the inmost instincts of the two states tended to part them, while there could be no lack of opportunity for mutual declarations of hostility; for the southern considered the northern as rebellious, while the latter, as the larger, looked upon the former as properly a province of its own. There might be temporary suspensions of the feuds by which the sister states enfeebled each other, either because powerful prophets protested against the shedding of fraternal blood, or from the exhaustion of both parties, or because some kings exercised the lofty moderation of preferring peace or even a mutual alliance against the increasing enemies of both states; but in the long run their divergence became more and more decided and hostile, while some great prophetic souls lamented in vain that brothers should be irreconcilably at strife.

There was, it is true, one agency still at work, by which the evils which inevitably arise in abundance from every such disruption—the one-sided development and narrow-mindedness of each separate state, the growing mutual animosity, the deficiency even of the sound judgment and energy of an undivided kingdom—might have been counteracted with much success, namely, the power and influence of prophetism. It was this which had founded the community of Jahveh, and ought from the very nature of the community ever to remain its spiritual eye; and since neither state intended actually to revolt from Jahveh or the ancient fundamental laws of Jahveh's community,

purely spiritual prophetism should not have confined its action to either, but ought to have exerted its influence freely upon both; just as the German States, so grievously separated since 1806, ought never to abolish the joint use of the universities. There were certainly not wanting prophets who felt themselves impelled to go from the one kingdom to the other, or in some other way bring their influence to bear upon it.[1] But the kings of the Ten Tribes soon found that this imposed too great a restraint upon their own objects and they therefore expelled the prophets of Judah, dreading an increase of their influence over their dominions, as the example of Amos clearly proves. Nor was there any more marked characteristic of the northern kingdom than its inability to tolerate that freedom which was properly the basis of all the religion of Jahveh. And the priestly tribe of Levi met with the same treatment.

If then it was impossible either to bring about a cordial understanding or reunion between the two kingdoms, or to ensure the permanent existence of the northern, it might be expected that the southern at any rate, which in spite of its narrow limits possessed so many spiritual advantages, would have steadily withstood all the storms of time, or at a favourable moment even have regained the full power of the monarchy under David. And certainly our admiration is excited by the manner in which this remnant of his kingdom maintained itself erect amidst the shocks of four centuries of increasing disturbance, and survived the overthrow of its far more powerful neighbour for nearly a century and a half. The strong position of its capital, Jerusalem, and the somewhat unproductive soil of Judah, which consequently had fewer attractions for the invader, do not afford an adequate explanation of this phenomenon; since we know that its strength did not prevent Jerusalem from being reduced several times in the course of these centuries before its final fall,[2] and the ancient kingdom of Judah, with its proud capital and its rich temple, offered abundant temptations to a conqueror. Nothing but the higher moral power by which it was distinguished from the northern kingdom, and the multitude of great prophets, kings, and other national leaders,[3] who found there a freer scope for

[1] As the prophet in 1 Kings xiii., 2 Kings xxiii. 15–18. and Amos also went from Judah into Israel; and as, in like manner, the prophetic author of Zech. ix.–xi., xiii. 7–9 made every effort from Judah to operate upon Israel. Conversely, Hosea took refuge in Judah, to which he then devoted himself.

[2] Under kings Rehoboam, Jehoram, Amaziah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin.

[3] This is involuntarily and beautifully expressed in Zech. x. 3 sq., Mic. v. 4 [5]; for such prophetic anticipations must have had some connexion with experience; and the confirmation which they derive from history will appear below.

their powers, can adequately account for this striking fact. Nor can it be said that it prolonged its existence all this time only in the pitiful condition resulting from the use of every species of intrigue and submissiveness. Under some of the feebler kings, and in so small a state, it was scarcely possible that such expedients should not be resorted to; but the severe struggles, not only with the surrounding nations, but also with the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Chaldeans, in which it almost always displayed so much courage and lofty confidence, afford ample evidence that it did not owe its duration wholly to them. Around the name of Judah there gathered a glory and renown, which at length outshone that of the once far higher Israel; and the last great stage of this history only completes the change; but the cause of it is to be looked for solely in those internal struggles which were of a far nobler and more spiritual character than those of any other ancient state.

But the solution of those problems on which the power and wisdom of Solomon had been wrecked,[1] presented still greater difficulties for this little remnant of his empire, because it had principally to contend only against those evils which arose after it had become plain that their solution in the proper way was as yet impracticable. It was the good fortune of Judah that it had not allowed itself to be dazzled by those illusions which first created and then destroyed the kingdom of the Ten Tribes; and that it therefore persevered in a course of more tranquil progress, which first rendered it possible to discern how distant was the goal aimed at, and in what quarter the right means of approximating to it were to be sought. Prophetism, however, was able here to take a truer position towards the crown, which, in its turn, could endeavour to renounce all violence and overweening pretensions; and thus a firm basis was laid for more salutary life and activity. But besides its external helplessness, the cause of its internal weakness and unsoundness was to be found in the fact that it never really attained that ideal which was its aim and duty, and therefore remained ever wavering halfway between the higher and the lower, between the proud remembrance of its former glory under Solomon and David, and the often vague, or even depressing longing for a more satisfactory future. It was, accordingly, only a consequence of this deep-seated divergence of view and aspiration, that the more frivolous party, which took as its model the condition of Solomon's empire during its later years,[2] although often repressed, never entirely disappeared, at times rose rapidly to power and per-

[1] Vol. iii. p. 288 sqq. [2] Vol. iii. p. 312 sq.

manent influence, and indeed often went a great deal further than Solomon himself had ever done. The heart which did not cling with pure affection to the hope of a future consummation of the true kingdom of God, might, by the very smallness and weakness of the state, be the more easily led to abandon itself to a sensuous tendency, and hence to seek only the comforts and enjoyments of life; and there were in particular some kings and other great personages, who, partly from indolence, partly from anxiety to increase their power, lent themselves decidedly to this lower aim. We call this the heathen tendency; it clung to the southern kingdom, in fact, from the latter days of Solomon, and amid every change maintained its hold upon it to the end, though it had always to encounter the most strenuous opposition from the faithful, whom, even in its times of greatest prosperity, it could never wholly destroy; while the northern kingdom, which had been established for the purpose of stamping it out by force, soon became more and more hopelessly its prey.

But at the same time, deep in the noble heart of Judah, a new growth sprang up from quite a different seed, certainly, from that which had from the first flourished in its sister state, and yet in the end no less dangerous. The outward bulwarks of the true religion which it had in part loyally preserved and in part added, especially the temple of Solomon and the fortified capital, the elaborate and powerful priesthood which was based upon it with its sacrifices and other sacred rites, a complete book of religion and law elevated to the position of the law of the land,—all these, which came to be regarded with ever-growing faith, and won age after age an added sanctity, were proportionately liable to foster the delusion that they were sufficient by themselves to preserve a state and a people from corruption; and the fact that these sacred symbols had their origin in the very heart of this kingdom, and were thus distinctively its own in contrast with the northern kingdom as well as with all other countries, and the growing firmness of the belief of this little remnant of the empire of David that it owed to them its preservation from the numerous perils besetting it since the disruption of the kingdom, only augmented the blindness and tenacity of the superstition which attached to them. It is at once the sign and the consequence of an old and deep-rooted civilisation, when there gradually arise among a people such special outward objects of sanctity, which are peculiar to it and are accounted its powerful safeguards against all evils. Even in the midst of a religion essentially hostile to superstition they

establish themselves in the course of time with a tenacity which is rendered the more fatal by the power which its vital principle has once really exerted, and the fame it has consequently acquired. What, for example, is the belief of Romish Christians in Rome, of the Evangelicals of the present day in the Symbol-books, or even in the letter of Scripture, but superstition of this sort? It is under a certain pressure of existence, in extremities such as those against which the little kingdom of Judah had to contend, that the popular mind grasps most easily at such outward means of protection; and the superstition which then arose unobserved in its midst was assuredly far more innocent than that of many hypocrites in the Evangelical and Romish Churches of the present day. But a superstition of this kind springing up in the heart of the sanctuary of the ancient community might easily become a hidden rock, on which the ship of state might be dashed to pieces in such an age of storms; and it really became the cause of its final destruction, when it ceased to seek any other support for its confidence and safety. And with the state even this monarchy, in spite of its superiority, was doomed to disappear from outward view.

3. The disruption of the kingdom after the death of Solomon was thus the visible beginning of a dissolution of the human monarchy which nothing could permanently arrest, and of the national civilisation which rested almost entirely upon it. This was due to the retrograde movement into which it dragged the larger kingdom, and to the fatal germ inherent in it from the beginning; to the narrow limits and enfeebled condition to which it reduced the smaller; and finally, to the new superstition which it gradually engendered there in contrast to the northern and all heathen states. The whole of this period of four hundred years is therefore marked by the gradual dissolution, which became worse and worse as time went on, of all the great and glorious achievements of the two previous eras, as far at least as it was within human power to destroy them. Yet, while outwardly overthrowing the prosperity which was attained in the second phase of the national history, it contains within it, in its spiritual energy and its vigorous struggles for the eternal consummation of the community of God, the whole of the third great stage, the conclusion of the history of the ancient people. It is not surprising that the break-up of the second era of the history should occupy no less than four centuries. The achievements of Samuel, David, and Solomon were too great to be so easily overthrown, just as it required

the whole of the long period of the Judges to change the original form of the community as received in its primitive grandeur from Moses and Joshua. Being a period of decay, it is also marked, with few exceptions, by increasing weakness and humiliation, over which the narrative itself might be disposed to pass with quickened pace.

It had, it is true, its moments of unexpected exaltation and deliverance, of victory and encouragement of the national spirit; but they did not last, and feebleness and disorganisation once more prevailed. This, moreover, produced other phenomena of a different kind; a melancholy and even a despair of the power and truth of the religion of Jahveh, the influence and danger of which would be increased in proportion to the pride with which in the days of David and Solomon the nation had placed its trust in Jahveh, who gave his people victory and power, and which was therefore calculated to shake the deepest foundations of the true religion now no longer in the vigour of its youth. The earlier causes which, under Solomon, had favoured the spread of heathen religions, and which were not likely to cease to operate during the monarchy, were now augmented by a fresh one, which arose out of this weakness and despair. The course of events from this time exhibits, often in the most marked way, a growing inclination to some form or other of heathen religion, whichever, just then in its prime, seemed to promise to its adherents greater power, or at any rate more ease, or pleasure, or enjoyment. The northern kingdom, in spite of the circumstances of its foundation, soon yielded to this tendency to a much greater extent than the southern, for all the causes which promoted it combined with much more power in the former than in the latter; and the worship of Jahveh in the form of an image which it permitted was a great step towards the adoration of similar images, and so towards heathenism. Accordingly, while the numerous forms of heathenism continued to spread, exercised a more and more seductive influence, and met with less and less resistance, captivated even many kings, prophets, and priests, and endangered the inner sanctuary of the religion of Jahveh, the struggles of the prophets of Jahveh and the rest of the faithful among the people became more and more complicated, more and more severe and desperate; but at the same time their victory was all the greater and more decisive. It is true that the general life and aims of the people contracted very perceptibly with the growing narrowness and weakness of the age. A world-wide dominion like that of David, a world-wide commerce like that of Solomon,

were irretrievably lost. The wisdom which aspired under Solomon to embrace the whole of nature, sank into mere theological learning when Israel was once more forced back into religious struggles and investigations,[1] and art and poetry revolved more exclusively around religion alone. It resulted, however, that in that single department in which all the intellectual efforts and aspirations of the people tended to concentrate themselves, the truths at length won were all the greater; and it was from this that every impulse of the national history proceeded, and on this, therefore, it was necessarily driven back with the more violence by every change.

But the perfect king of the community of Jahveh, the ultimate aim and desire of the whole age, who, from the general position of the southern kingdom, might be expected to appear there sooner than in the northern, gave no sign of his coming even there, however fervently he might be longed for in time of need, however clearly his advent might be visible to the wakeful spirit of the greatest prophets. There did, indeed, arise in Judah a rare succession of good kings, who in some degree approximated to that type of royalty which was necessarily formed in the community of God; but events always proved soon enough that the ideal was not yet realised. And yet the necessity of the expectation of his coming increased in the course of time in proportion to the clearness with which the nobler minds beheld the hopeless decay of the ancient constitution of the community of God, and were, therefore, compelled, if they wished to avoid despairing of the lasting triumph of the true religion, to believe in an all-embracing preternatural power, able to bring about that better order which was the object of their hope, and was already present to the eye of faith. The next power to the divine, however, which a closer consideration disclosed to them, was that of the crown, and there was the greater propriety in this, the more fully each prince possessed those qualifications which proved him the one man more perfect than any one else in the community, and therefore king of the people of God. The history of these centuries revealed plainly for the first time the difficulties attending the advent of such a king; but the demand for him, the expectation of him, were involved in the very essence of the form assumed by the religion of Jahveh itself in the second great stage of its course:[2] and, though so many premature or obscure expectations proved

[1] See the essay on this subject in the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* i. p. 95 sqq.

[2] It cannot be insisted on too strongly, that while the Messianic hopes were possible, as far as their origin and nature were concerned, immediately after the in-

delusive, and all earthly sovereignty in Israel was finally destroyed, yet the firm hope of his coming remained the surest comfort of all the faithful, and was the greatest and deepest result of all the efforts and struggles which marked the second period of the history of Israel.

Chronology of the Two Kingdoms.

On attempting to examine the details of the history of the two kingdoms which brought the second period to a tedious close, it appears certainly at first sight somewhat difficult to determine the steps of the progress of degeneration simultaneously in the history of each, since their respective developments, as has been already indicated in general terms, were so very different. Yet, even with the most opposite tendencies, the influence of two states on each other is rendered all the stronger the more closely they are connected not only in position but also by relationship, and the more jealous they are of each other. Careful consideration shows that here also the one always acted more or less upon the other. The impulse of movement, however, at first proceeds entirely from the northern. It takes its stand so determinedly as an independent state that the southern can with difficulty even exist beside it; but it soon plunges so deeply into the abyss of its inherent errors that nothing less than the frightful revolution of Jehu can restore it to its original position, a revolution which also sweeps away with it the newly-budding prosperity of Judah. This occupies a period of about one hundred years. In the next century and a half or two centuries the larger kingdom, thus violently thrown back upon the circumstances of its origin, maintains itself in a tottering condition for a considerable time under the house of Jehu, until its innate evils again accumulate and hurry it to its fall; while Judah, in the same stage, rises higher and higher. But in the succeeding century and a quarter this solitary surviving state sinks beneath the weight of internal and external misfortunes; and with this the third period of this history concludes.

The chronology of these four centuries was originally given with accuracy in the annals of the two kingdoms; but the last

troduction of the monarchy, their development into a definite form was only very gradual. On the other hand, their existence in the first period of the national history was an intrinsic impossibility, because at the time of the pure Theocracy no human king of Israel could possibly be imagined, nor can any evidence of them be produced from that age, for no competent person will now attempt to discover the Messiah in Gen. xlix. 10. Their peculiar development, which is one of the most noteworthy features of the national history, is traced further on.

author has not preserved much more than the particulars of the length of each reign. At the same time he always defines the beginning of a new reign by the corresponding year of the contemporary sovereign of the sister state, a practice which affords us a comparative view of the two kingdoms, and enables us to correct mistakes in the numbers. But he only gives the years entire; while in the annals of the kingdom the particulars of the month and the day were certainly always stated. He consequently always reckons as extending over a full year a reign which has lasted more than the first half (the beginning of the year being about Easter); and it is only when a king has not reigned more than half a year that he specifies the months or days.[1] And in the second place, the whole of this computation of contemporary reigns had obviously no place originally in the annals of the kingdom (which were different in each state), but was inserted by later writers. In this way it would be easy for errors to creep in, especially if this comparative chronology passed through several hands before it finally assumed its present form, a supposition which is confirmed by many signs.—This explains why the years of the reigns of the two kingdoms, especially when they are computed according to the ordinary verbal connexion, cannot be reduced in certain passages into entire harmony. It fortunately happens, however, that at the two middle epochs of these four centuries, a great event took place of almost equal importance for each kingdom, which greatly assists us in the determination of special dates. At the end of the first of the three periods indicated above, the kings of both states fall at the same time beneath Jehu's sword; and up to this point, therefore, a more exact comparison can be made of the years of the two kingdoms. In the same way we know for certain that the destruction of Samaria falls in the ninth year of Hoshea and the sixth of Hezekiah.

On adding up the reigns of the kings of Israel as far as Jehu, we obtain a result of one hundred and two years; but the reigns of the kings of Judah, up to the same point, only amount to ninety-five, if we adopt the present connexion of the words. That errors have crept in here is evident from the other inconsistencies which make their appearance, of which the following is the most important. According to one passage,[2] Ahaziah of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes dies in the second year of Jehoram of Judah; if so, his successor Jehoram, who

[1] The highest number of months which occurs is six. A different view, however, is taken by the Talmudic M. *Abôda zara* G. on. ch. iii.

[2] 2 Kings i. 17.

fell by the hand of Jehu, cannot have reigned twelve years, supposing the remaining years of the kings of Judah till Jehu's revolution only to amount to seven or eight.[2] But according to another passage,[3] Jehoram became king of the Ten Tribes during the eighteenth year of the reign of Jehoshaphat in Judah; compared with the previous statement as to the beginning of Jehoram's reign, this makes a difference of seven years, for twenty-five years are ascribed to Jehoshaphat, and we have no reason to doubt the correctness of this number.[4] But this difference of seven years is exactly what we found in the total of the reigns of the two kingdoms; there must, therefore, be the same error latent in the one hundred and two years of the kings of Israel, or in the ninety-five years of the kings of Judah. And closer examination actually enables us to detect the origin of this error with much certainty. After having contended for four years with another king for the sovereignty of the Ten Tribes, Omri reigns twelve years alone, six of them in Samaria, his new capital. This would easily give rise to the confusion that he had only reigned six or eight years alone; so that six years were subtracted from the contemporary reign of Asa in Judah, which must, accordingly, have lasted forty-seven or forty-eight years, the beginning of Ahab's reign was made to coincide with the thirty-eighth year of Asa, and the comparative chronology was then carried on further. Others, however, who did not diminish Asa's reign by these six years, were obliged, if they still subtracted six years from Omri, to place the beginning of the reign of Jehoram of Israel in the second year of Jehoram of Judah, which only led them into further contradictions.

We maintain, therefore, that this first period embraces from one hundred and one to one hundred and two years. The second, extending to the death of Hezekiah, includes, as will appear below, one hundred and eighty-eight years; the third, one hundred and ten. The whole period, therefore, from the disruption of the Davidic monarchy to the destruction of Jerusalem, contains almost exactly four hundred years. Its synchronisms with the rest of the history of the world will be explained below in the general chronological survey.

[1] 2 Kings iii. 1, viii. 25.

[2] Ib. viii. 17, 26.

[3] Ib. iii. 1.

[4] 1 Kings xxii. 42, with which 2 Kings iii. 1 and viii. 16 agree; only in the last passage the word מת must have fallen out before מָלַךְ, although it had disappeared even before the LXX.

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SECTION I.

THE FIRST CENTURY AFTER THE DISRUPTION OF THE KINGDOM.

A. THE FIRST FIVE DYNASTIES OF THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.

I. Jeroboam I. and his Son.

The reign of the first king of the Ten Tribes lasted twenty-two years, and was terminated only by his death, but his house was overthrown after his son had reigned barely two years; and the fate of the first dynasty was a sort of premonition of what awaited all that came after. But both the internal constitution and the external position of the kingdom towards Judah and other states, received essentially from the strong hand of its first king the form which they retained more or less unchanged under his successors. Some facts of great importance belonging to the reign of Jeroboam are known to us with certainty, and others may be determined with great probability; but unfortunately we are no longer able to fix the separate dates of the most important events of his reign of twenty-two years.

It may be readily supposed that the sovereign of the new kingdom had to contend with many vague or even impossible claims, and many internal disturbances. Clear evidence of this may still be found in his frequent changes of the royal residence. He first selected the ancient sanctuary of Shechem, where he had been chosen king, as his capital; and no city could have been more suitable, in part from its high importance in ancient times,[1] and again, from the fact that through all ages down to the present day (when Nablûs lies upon the same spot) it has maintained its position as one of the principal places of the sacred land. But some cause, with which we are no longer acquainted, induced him to remove the seat of government to Penuel, on the other side of the Jordan, a city which, like Shechem, possessed a primeval sanctity for Israel.[2] In the end, however, he returned to the west of the Jordan, and Tirzah, formerly the seat of a petty Canaanite prince, became his permanent residence.[3] No sacred associations from ancient

[1] Vol. ii. p. 278 sqq.
[2] Vol. i. p. 304, *note*.
[3] All this follows from 1 Kings xii. 25 compared with the passing remark in xiv. 17, and further with xv. 21, 33, xvi. 6, 8 sq., 15–18, 23; Josh. xii. 24.

times attached to this city, the exact site of which has only been recently discovered.[1] It now became, however, for a period of forty to fifty years, the regular residence of the kings of the Ten Tribes; and its splendid buildings gave it such speedy glory that it was even placed side by side with Jerusalem as a symbol of beauty.[2] The palace which Zimri afterwards burnt down over his own head, was probably erected by Jeroboam, who also expended great labour in constructing fortifications, and kept three hundred war chariots.[3]

1. Of the relations of the countries subdued by David and Solomon towards Jeroboam, we have no longer any definite information. Many were, no doubt, still kept by his arm under the sway of Israel, such as Moab, which did not revolt till after the death of Ahab.[4] Others, on the contrary, probably regained their independence, like Damascus, which, as the centre of the Aramean power west of the Euphrates, became shortly after of very great importance, and exercised a most powerful influence on the fortunes of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes.[5] The danger of its hostility now increased in proportion to the sufferings it believed itself to have sustained under the rule of David and Solomon, and the efforts it made to avert a resumption of supremacy by Israel. Damascus must soon have united all the other Aramean countries west of the Euphrates under its sway; and was thus enabled, in the course of the following century, to undertake a regular war of extermination against Israel, thirty-two tributary princes rendering military service to its king.[6] The revolt of the Aramean countries from Israel was

[1] In his last journey (*Bib. Res.* iii. 302, ed. 1856) Robinson believes he has discovered it in a hitherto unknown Tell-lûzah, not very far north of Mount Ebal. According to this it would have been situated very near the ancient Shechem, and the reason which decided the king to prefer it to the latter, must have been the more urgent.

[2] As Cant. vi. 4 shows, where it is to be observed that Tirzah is even named before Jerusalem.

[3] Both these statements rest on the certainly somewhat confused additions of the LXX, Cod. Vat. to 1 Kings xii. 24; what the χάραξ was which he constructed is too obscurely indicated.

[4] 2 Kings i. 1, iii. 4 sqq.

[5] If Asa (1 Kings xv. 18 sq.) entreated the aid of Benhadad against the kingdom of the Ten Tribes on the ground that there had been an alliance between their respective fathers, Damascus must have been a powerful kingdom at any rate as early as the last years of Jeroboam. The same conclusion may be drawn from the reference of Benhadad's genealogy to his grandfather; according to this passage he was the son of Tabrimmon and grandson of Hezion, and consequently his father, who was still on the throne in Jeroboam's time, must have had a not undistinguished predecessor. This may raise the question whether חזיון and רזון (cf. iii. p. 218) may not be only two different readings of the same original name? Ancient readers must have surmised it, for the LXX, Cod. Vat. in 1 Kings xi. 14, read Ἐσρώμ ἐν Ῥαμά, and in the same way an ancient Greek version in 1 Kings xv. 18 has υἱὸν Ταβ ἐν Ῥαμάν, although for חזיון it has here Ἀζαήλ and the LXX have Ἀζίν. But the present state of our knowledge does not permit us to do more than raise the question.

[6] 1 Kings xx. 1 sqq.

certainly soon followed by that of Ammon, which had at an earlier period closely allied itself with Damascus;[1] and its geographical position enabled it to break loose sooner than Moab.

It was all the easier for these nations to regain their independence, as the main efforts of Jeroboam, like those of his successors down to Omri and Ahab, were all directed against Judah alone, the possession of which they deemed indispensable to the restoration of the kingdom of Saul;[2] just as Saul's son Ish-bosheth had commenced by attacking it.[3] The war, however, not being so easily brought to a close, Jeroboam appears to have called in the aid of Egypt, then under the rule of a new dynasty, against Jerusalem. We only arrive at this conclusion from a consideration of all the circumstances; but the campaign of the Egyptians against Jerusalem (to be described below) is otherwise without any apparent cause. Moreover, recourse to Egyptian aid in danger continued to be one of the leading principles of the northern kingdom; and an alliance with the more distant neighbour in order the more easily to harass the nearer has been in all ages the perilous device of the reckless ruler. In this plight, the feeble Judah, in its turn, to secure itself against a coalition of such enemies, would watch with pleasure Damascus and other nations revolt from Israel, and would even (as we know was the case with Damascus) seek to enter into an alliance with them against it. And thus the empire of David was shattered to its very foundations.

2. But little time,[4] in fact, could be required, to convince many of the leading citizens of the northern kingdom how greatly they had deceived themselves in the expectation of enjoying under Jeroboam a still better government than that of David. Among the people the change of feeling expressed itself in the increase of the numbers that began again to resort to the temple at Jerusalem;[5] and Jeroboam soon became alarmed lest these frequent pilgrimages to the Davidic sanctuary should renew their affection for the house of David, and incite them to rebellion against him. The best means of securing the permanence of his power could not long be doubtful, when its origin, and that of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes

[1] Vol. iii. p. 152 sqq.
[2] 1 Kings xiv. 30, xv. 6 sq., 16–22, 32.
[3] Vol. iii. p. 113 sqq.
[4] From 2 Chron. xi. 17 we might conjecture that the arrangements described in 1 Kings xii. 26–32 were instituted three years after the establishment of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes; but that date is too closely connected in the Chronicles with the older narrative of the great event of the fifth year after the disruption of the monarchy (see below).
[5] This follows clearly from the words of the older narrator, 1 Kings xii. 26 sq., even independently of the later representation 2 Chron. xi. 16 sq.

itself, was considered. If, in the absence of all self-restraint, the kingdom went back to the spirit of the age before David, or even of the Judges, an opportunity was afforded for establishing in its midst, in direct opposition to Jerusalem, a Jahveh-worship which might openly relieve it from the embarrassing restraint of obscure and gloomy views, and at the same time flatter the ideas and passions of the majority, as soon as the existence of such a cultus in the age of the Judges could be recalled. But it was still quite within the memory of men that a large portion of the nation in the period of the Judges had worshipped Jahveh under the form of an image.[1] There is certainly no historical evidence[2] that the image employed in those times was that of a bull, or calf, now selected by Jeroboam; so that it might be conjectured that Jeroboam was imitating some sort of animal worship which he had seen during his long sojourn in Egypt, and did so the more readily, as he was almost compelled to seek an alliance with Egypt. But a more careful consideration points to the belief that Jeroboam, looking to the origin and tendency of his kingdom in its antagonism to the principles prevailing in the latter part of Solomon's reign and in Rehoboam's, was desirous of rigidly guarding against actual heathenism[3] and the introduction of new deities, while he sufficiently met the lower impulse of his people, as well as the prevailing love of pomp and sensual attraction, by making the worship of Jahveh himself appeal to the senses as much as possible. It was certainly, therefore, ancient recollections of the mode in which Israel worshipped its God in Egypt and from time to time subsequently, that decided Jeroboam to select this form. He had two large golden images of this kind constructed, but he was careful to choose two places to set them up in, which had been holy since ancient times. One was the

[1] Vol. ii. p. 347 sqq.

[2] The narrative in Ex. xxxii. (cf. ii. p. 182 sqq.) proves only, it may be said, that Levites occasionally worshipped Jahveh in ancient times in the form of an image; but the particular image of a bull was perhaps only introduced into the representation of the fourth narrator of the primitive history with reference to the image-worship established by Jeroboam, just as the expression Ex. xxxii. 4 actually agrees with 1 Kings xii. 28. In other passages where an image of Jahveh is mentioned, Judges viii. 27, xvii. 4 sq., 1 Sam. xix. 13–16, it can only be explained by reference to the ancient Penates, and was consequently in a human form, as the narrative in 1 Sam. xix. also presupposes, (comp. iii. p. 77). But in these cases it is properly only the God of individual houses, not a national God that is spoken of; and as the narrative of Moses' image of the serpent stands quite by itself (ii. p. 176 sq.), it can excite no surprise that there is little mention of another image dating back to the Mosaic age. Comp. further the remarks in ii. p. 182.

[3] The expression 'these be thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee out of Egypt,' 1 Kings xii. 28, really only contains in its polytheistic form the narrator's idea that image-worship was very closely allied to polytheism.

primitive sanctuary at Bethel, on the southern frontier of the kingdom; the other was Dan, on the northern, which had been made a holy place in the age of the Judges.[1] His next step was to forbid his subjects to visit the temple at Jerusalem any more. It soon appeared how well adapted the new arrangements were for the sensual nature of the lower classes; for even to Dan, in the extreme north, the people flocked like one man.[2] The transposition of the great autumn festival from the seventh to the eighth month, which was resolved upon at the same time, was probably especially acceptable to the people in the north, as they had then got their harvest completely over.[3] In Bethel, however, as the older and more important sanctuary, the king erected round the image of Jahveh a splendid temple in Canaanite style[4] called a 'House of the Heights,' where the national sacrifices were henceforth to be publicly offered. This temple evidently lasted many years, and might have been intended to rival the one in Jerusalem; nor did it lose its importance subsequently, but it continued to be the great sanctuary of the realm, until after the fall of the kingdom.[5] Similar temples were erected all over the country.[6]

The worship of Jahveh was therefore to be the only recognised cultus in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes; but in a form which had from the first followed the light of the true religion only as a shadow, and which did away with all those spiritual elements which gave it a unique place among the religions of the world. It contained the germ of an ever-deepening corruption of the national faith; and Hosea was justified in the bitter irony with which he called the God of this kingdom its calf.[7] How the second of the Ten Commandments was to be

[1] Vol. ii. p. 348.

[2] The words לִפְנֵי הָאֶחָד in 1 Kings xii. 30, which were misunderstood even by the LXX, can scarcely mean anything different from בְּאֶחָד, see note on Ps. lxxxii. 7 in the *Dichter des A. B.* 2nd ed., cf. also כְּאִישׁ אֶחָד, Num. xiv. 15; Ezr. iii. 1, Neh. viii. 1; the article should for this reason be struck out, having been introduced by mistake into ver. 30 from ver. 29. On לִפְנֵי cf. 1 Sam. i. 16.

[3] See the *Alterth.* p. 389.

[4] Vol. iii. p. 306.

[5] 1 Kings xii. 31, 2 Kings xxiii. 15, Amos ix. 1. In the first passage, however, the words את בית במות are to be understood as *plural*, according to 2 Kings xvii. 29, 32 and *Lehrb.* § 270*c*; cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 19.

[6] This is implied in 1 Kings xii. 31 compared with 2 Kings xvii. 29, 32, and many passages in the prophets.

[7] Hos. viii. 5, xiii. 2. On the other hand, the expression that Jeroboam ordained priests 'for the altars of the heights, for the demons (satyrs), and for the calves,' 2 Chron. xi. 15 is to be explained simply from the style of the peculiar language of the Chronicles. The complete confusion of the calf with the Astarte ἡ Βαάλ, Tob. i. 5 (and somewhat differently in Rom. xi. 4, cf. the *Alterth.* p. 261), is of a much later date. Compare the two recently discovered seal rings, which evidently belonged to citizens of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, as they bear a representation of the *calf*, one with the words לשמעיהו בן עזריהו, the other with לנתניהו בן עבדיהו; figured in the *Revue Archéol.* 1868, pl. xvi. 34 sq.

satisfactorily explained and applied, was in this as in every case where an error takes forcible root in a nation, a subordinate question: perversion of the spirit while retaining the letter of a precept is an old art. Of the Levites, many, in the age preceding Samuel, had probably devoted their services to a similar image of Jahveh, set up for the whole nation; but for more than a century they had abstained from these earlier acts of unfaithfulness, and had rallied round the stricter religion, which had now firmly established its head-quarters in the temple at Jerusalem; and this rendered it impossible for them to join in this calf-worship. They accordingly migrated in crowds to Judah and Jerusalem, so that Jeroboam was obliged to ordain some of the common people as priests, even in Bethel.[1] Judah was, in consequence, almost overstocked with Levites, and this gave rise to various inconveniences which will be described further on: but the northern kingdom was rendered so much the poorer in many species of knowledge, as well as of art and refinement: and the thread of its quiet development in religion was completely broken.

The mass of the people might be gratified with the intentional unspiritualising of Jahveh, and the other innovations of Jeroboam; but the sorrow and indignation of those who looked deeper must have increased with their fears, as, in the twenty-two years of his reign, they watched all the results arising from this change which so few of them had foreseen. A startling instance which may suffice as a sample of all the rest, is related with lofty truth by the older composer of the history of the Kings.[2] Jeroboam's favourite son Abijah, on whom the general hope was fixed, was dangerously ill at Tirzah. The king could not suggest any other expedient than to have recourse to the prophet Ahijah of Shiloh, by this time grey and blind with age, who, in early days under Solomon,[3] had been the first to promise him the kingdom, and for whose word he consequently still entertained in his secret heart the deepest reverence. The prophet had, however, long withdrawn from all intercourse with the king, who accordingly desired the mother[4] of the sick child to go in disguise to him at Shiloh, and ask him for a remedy

[1] 1 Kings xii. 31, xiii. 33 sq.; cf. 2 Chron. xi. 13–17. These priests were called like the Levites כְּמָרִים, Hos. iv. 6–10, vi. 9; more definitely, however, *priests of the heights*, or by an Aramean name כְּמָרִים, כְּמָר.

[2] 1 Kings xiv. 1–18; this piece with its abrupt beginning differs considerably in the LXX, Cod. Vat., and the original text is here, as in so many other passages, divided between the two copies; although the very different connexion in which the LXX have it, and which occasioned such numerous alterations, is evidently incorrect.

[3] Vol. iii. p. 304.

[4] In the LXX she is always called Ἀνώ; see below.

for the disease. She went, to avoid his recognising her, as a poor woman, taking no greater present than ten loaves and two little cakes, some grapes and a jar of honey.[1] But the blind seer, as though the true God had clearly communicated to him beforehand who was coming, refused to accept her gifts,[2] reproached her for her disguise, and charged her to inform the king that Jahveh, who had formerly raised him from the dust, and toward whom he had been so ungrateful, would soon destroy his whole house by another king; the sick boy, by the time she had returned home, would be dead, and he for his piety towards Jahveh would be the only one of all the posterity of Jeroboam who would be universally mourned, and honourably buried.[3] There is scarcely anything, indeed, more characteristic of the history of Jeroboam, as well as of the whole kingdom of the Ten Tribes, and of ancient prophetism itself, than the entire change, not so much of the ideas as of the anticipations of Ahijah. That this change really took place is beyond doubt, however certain it may be that the peculiar mode in which his last oracle is here represented was only intended, according to the often explained practice of this narrator, to lead the way to the history of the next dynasty.[4]

It was, however, open for a later age to pass a far severer judgment on Jeroboam's work, after the seeds of dissolution which had been planted in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes from the beginning, and had been so carefully fostered there by Jeroboam, had made their way into the light of day, and attracted general attention by the events of its history and its ultimate fall. In encouraging the indefinite and confused desires in which the northern kingdom had originated, in prescribing image-worship as the national religion, and widening the breach between the two states, he was on the one hand carried away by a movement which, on the other, he directed, and so was personally to blame. The legalisation of the image-worship, and the rest of the institutions opposed to the free progress of the higher religion which became by his means fundamental laws of the land, are the 'sins of Jeroboam the

[1] The words wanting in the Hebrew actually occur twice in the LXX, and are correct.

[2] A correct addition of the LXX.

[3] In the words of the oracle, vv. 6–16, a close examination clearly proves vv. 9, 15 *sq.*, by the style of their language and thought, to be an addition of the last author; the first expression in ver. 9 is one peculiar to this writer, and is, moreover, more appropriate to later kings than to Jeroboam; and vv. 15, 16 disturb the connexion so violently that even Josephus arranges them differently. The fact that they are omitted by the LXX does not prove much, because they also leave out other and plainly ancient verses.

[4] Some other traits from the life of this prophet are briefly given, evidently from an ancient work, in Epiphan. *De Vit. Proph.* c. ii.

son of Nebat,' on which the last author of the book of Kings dwells so much, and from which, according to his regular expression, no subsequent prince ever departed.[1] More than three hundred years later, when Josiah destroyed the great altar at Bethel erected by Jeroboam, and, in accordance with ancient custom, defiled the site of it for ever by burning human bones upon it, a remarkable coincidence revived in a new form the memory of the time of its construction. In taking these bones out of the ancient tombs near Bethel, the inhabitants called attention to the fact that one of them which was about to be opened contained the bones of a prophet who, in the time of Jeroboam, had come from Judah to Bethel to proclaim boldly in sight and hearing of the king the anger of God against the altar and to announce its future destruction; and on learning this Josiah gave orders for the tomb to be left undisturbed.[2] That a prophet really did come in this way from Judah to Bethel under Jeroboam I. is quite credible;[3] and the increasing rigidness of the king's efforts gradually to cut off his dominions from Judah, in order to carry through his questionable religious innovations, might well seem to lay on a prophet of Judah the obligation to obey the higher call, as Amos did in after days under Jeroboam II. The tradition may also have been perfectly true that the tomb in Bethel belonged to this prophet. But it is also clear that it was on its revival after three centuries and a half that this story received in the light of later days the new form in which it is now incorporated in the narrative of Jeroboam's reign.[4] By that time even the name of the aged prophet had altogether passed away;[5] and much might be said as to the possibility of a prophet of Judah being buried in Bethel

[1] Just as we may fairly say that every Pope in the Middle Ages continued the sins in which the Papacy, in conformity with its origin and inmost impulse, had grown up.

[2] 2 Kings xxiii. 15–18; a passage at the end of which we should read מיהודה for משמרון, although even the LXX misunderstood it, and consequently made an unnecessary and inappropriate addition to 1 Kings xiii. 31; at any rate, it is implied without doubt in the original meaning of the narrative.

[3] P. 14.

[4] 1 Kings xii. 33–xiii. 32. This piece clearly refers to the later passage 2 Kings xxiii. 15–18; no proof can be brought that it was written before Josiah's reformation; on the other hand, the mention of the 'cities of Samaria' in the mouth of the aged prophet, xiii. 32, points to a much later writer, and indeed to the author of 2 Kings xxiii. 19.

[5] Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 8 sq., who misunderstands the whole story in a really shocking way, without further explanation calls him *Jadon* (and his example was followed in the Middle Ages, cf. Jos. Gen. *Hypomn.* cc. 15, 89 ed. Fabr.); but it is clear from iii. p. 301 *note* 1, that this is only an arbitrary conjecture from 2 Chron. ix. 29. In the same way he supplies of his own motion the name of the unknown prophet in 1 Kings xx. from 1 Kings xxii.; and even the name of the Aramean soldier in 1 Kings xxii. 34 (Aman, more correctly Naaman) from 2 Kings v. In Epiphan. *De Vit. Prophet.* c. iii. the prophet is called Joam; but the name יועם is probably the same as יערו, cf. iii. p. 301 *note* 1.

opposite the altar whose destruction he predicted. The changes through which the present account may have passed can no longer be traced; but as it stands now, it obviously serves as a grand connecting link between the commencement of the history of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, of which this altar at Bethel might be taken as the type, and its close, and the subsequent reign of the great reformer Josiah. As Jeroboam (so the story runs) was sacrificing on the altar at Bethel on the great day of the feast which he had arbitrarily transposed to the eighth month, the man of God came from Judah to proclaim publicly to the altar that a descendant of David named Josiah should sacrifice the false priests upon it and thus desecrate it, in token of which he announced that it should be rent in twain and the ashes upon it spilt.[1] Jeroboam in a rage ordered the prophet to be seized, upon which his hand withered, while at the same moment the sign was fulfilled. At Jeroboam's entreaty and the prophet's intercession, his hand was restored; but when he further begged him to accept some refreshment and a present in his palace, the prophet declared he must obey the divine will and return at once to Judah unknown, without taking any food or staying on the road;[2] and in order to avoid being recognised and detained he actually went back another way. But an aged prophet in Bethel, who had heard of these marvels from his sons,[3] followed him from curiosity to become more closely acquainted with such a wonder-worker. He found him sitting in the forest[4] east of Bethel, not yet far advanced upon his journey, and under the false pretence of being commissioned by an angel to call him back, he actually induced him to return. The prophet of Judah, however, thus deceived, had scarcely tasted food, when his aged host, as if himself now really mastered at the right moment by the pure power of divine truth, had to declare to him the oracle that as he had resisted the plain divine word which he had received, his corpse should not come into the sepulchre of his fathers; and when he set out on his return,

[1] As the great prophets of the ninth and eighth centuries always gave signs when they appeared needful, e.g. when the promised event was too far distant from the present. This has evidently given rise to many particulars in the historical descriptions also, as in Ex. iii. 12, iv. 1 sq., vii. 9.

[2] This swift execution of an apparently dangerous divine commission, this unexpected coming and going, as unlooked-for as the appearance and disappearance of the divine word itself, is really peculiar to the prophets of that age, as is proved by the narrative in 2 Kings ix. 1–10, dating from the ninth century. It is sufficient here to note the fact.

[3] In 1 Kings xiii. 11 the *plural* should in each case be restored.

[4] 'The Terebinth' in ver. 14 is clearly intended in this connection to denote a particular spot not far from Bethel; either, therefore, the Terebinth of Deborah (ii. p. 375 and iii. p. 21) or that of Mamre, Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 3, xiv. 13.

he was torn in pieces by a lion on the way. The aged prophet, on hearing that a mangled carcase had been discovered, immediately suspected the truth, hastened to the spot, and found the body still miraculously preserved from being devoured; he accordingly took it back with him and interred it with honour in Bethel, leaving solemn orders for his own burial in the same place as the prophet, whose strange death proved that the doom he pronounced on the altar at Bethel really came from God.—This narrative clearly indicates the manner in which an enlightened mind of the seventh century, while not overlooking the possible human weaknesses of the prophets,—for the curiosity of the aged prophet and the return of the prophet of Judah who allowed himself to be deceived by the pretended revelation, are weaknesses,—yet through them all clung more stoutly to the immovable certainty of the advance and triumph of every divine truth; for the weaknesses for which the prophet has, as a man, to pay the penalty, will necessarily only reveal the truth itself more plainly in the end. But it is impossible to mistake the fact that the narrative, judging even by its general tone, cannot have been written before the time of Josiah.

3. Jeroboam himself died, we do not exactly know at what age, and was honourably buried.[1] The untried son of a valiant sire who had reigned many years and was the founder of a dynasty, immediately attacked by the most powerful enemies to whom he speedily succumbs, is a figure often recurring in this history. Jeroboam's son Nadab had not maintained himself in power much more than a year, when an unfortunate war against the Philistines who were pressing on from the south-west, seems to have been the occasion of a conspiracy at the head of which was Baasha, son of Ahijah, one of his soldiers. This Baasha assassinated him while he was besieging Gibbethon, formerly occupied by the Philistines, and now again in their possession. The first business of the murderer, on ascending the throne, was to exterminate all the surviving members of the house of Jeroboam. This cannot have

[1] A remarkable example of the way in which later writers attempted to debase the position of this king, is found in the version of the narrative of his life in the MS. which was at the basis of the LXX, Cod. Vat. In this his mother is made a harlot, but her name Sarira is the same as that of his native city, iii. p. 304 (cf. ii. p. 386, *note*) which is thus pronounced by the LXX, and which, according to them, lay in the mountains of Ephraim; and his wife, the mother of Abijah, is given to him by the Egyptian king Susakim (Shishak) while he is still in Egypt; she was the honoured elder sister of the Egyptian queen Thekemina (who, according to iii. p. 217, *note* 6, also appears in quite a different connexion). But there is no proof that the editor really derived all these particulars from copious ancient sources.

been an altogether easy task, as it gave rise to the quasi-prophetic proverb:—

> Whoso of Jeroboam dieth in the city the dogs shall eat,
> And whoso dieth in the field the birds of the air shall eat.[1]

He was, however, completely successful; and the fate of the first royal house of the northern kingdom afforded only too soon an evil example for all who in like manner aspired to the sovereignty.[2]

II. Baasha and his Son.

1. King Baasha was a man of distinguished bravery,[3] not, however, like Jeroboam, of the tribe of Ephraim, but of Issachar. He does not seem to have been directly encouraged, as his predecessor was, by some eminent prophet to revolt against the reigning dynasty.[4] There is, at least, no evidence on the subject; and it is sufficient to assume that the increasing discontent of the prophets with the house of Jeroboam which led them to announce its approaching fall, was not without influence on his enterprise. He was probably, like David, of humble origin. Yet, after the overthrow of the house of Jeroboam, and when (as it might so far be justly said) Jahveh had raised him up out of the dust to be the ruler of his people Israel,[5] the question naturally arose whether he would govern any better, and, if so, in what way. Very few particulars, unfortunately, have been preserved of his reign, which lasted twenty-four years, or of the leading ideas of his policy. But it is clear from the general course of events in the northern state, and is, moreover, indicated in the brief description of his life which still remains, that on the religious question which was always the main point in a kingdom of Jahveh, he made not the smallest change or improvement. The only event of his reign with the circumstances of which we are acquainted, is a violent attack upon Judah, which he evidently had a strong desire to annihilate. This reveals clearly enough his real aim. The inability

[1] Almost the same proverb, however, reappears on occasion of the fall of the house of Baasha, 1 Kings xvi. 4, and of that of Ahab xxi. 23 sq., xxii. 38, 2 Kings ix. 36; and the older narrator, from whom it is clearly derived, may have found the most striking idea of it in the fall of the house of Ahab.

[2] 1 Kings xv. 25–32 compared with xiv. 11.

[3] Comp. the allusion 1 Kings xvi. 5.

[4] The anticipation of the dying Ahijah that Jahveh would raise another king to exterminate the house of Jeroboam, 1 Kings xiv. 14, is expressed in too general terms for us to suppose he himself spoke to Baasha as he formerly had done to Jeroboam. Yet it is a question whether the song in 1 Sam. ii. 1–10 (cf. the *Dichter des A. B.* i. p. 157 sqq., 2nd ed.) is not to be ascribed either to him or to Jehu.

[5] As is said in the prophetic utterance of Jehu, 1 Kings xvi. 2; cf. xiv. 7, 1 Sam. ii. 8.

of the house of Jeroboam to subdue the kingdom of Judah and other enemies, together with the growing discontent of the prophets, was the principal provocation of the rising which overthrew it. In this direction Baasha certainly expected that his courage and skill as a soldier would ensure him greater success, and it was with this hope that he aspired to power. But this only drew forth in him still more strongly than in his predecessors the dull and hollow efforts of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes to remove evils which it had itself created; and the inevitable result was that instead of rendering it any help in this way he only plunged it deeper in confusion and weakness; and instead of governing better than the house of Jeroboam, he not only shared its errors, but was also unable himself to found a permanent and powerful line.

He took some years to establish himself firmly on the throne. In the twelfth year of his reign,[1] however, he laid a plan for inflicting a severe blow on Judah and its reigning king Asa. The great military road from Jerusalem to the north passed through the city of Ramah,[2] which he had already conquered and taken from Judah. This he proposed to convert into a fortress which should command the territory of Judah, and by means of which all traffic between the two kingdoms might be cut off. The smaller state, which was necessarily in many respects commercially dependent on the larger, would thus be reduced to the last extremity. For this purpose he constructed new fortifications at Ramah at a great expense. Placed by this step in great embarrassment, Asa entreated Benhadad of Damascus for aid against the encroachments of Baasha. He responded to this appeal, invaded the territories of Baasha with a large force, and subdued the whole of the northern extremity of the dominion of Israel on both sides of the sources of the Jordan.[3] This is the first inroad of north-eastern

[1] This date can certainly only be inferred from the obscure words in 2 Chron. xvi. 1; see further below.

[2] The present el-Râm may be on the same spot, as Robinson has described. That the city properly belonged to Judah may be gathered from the words of the narrative, 1 Kings xv. 17–22, as well as from Is. x. 29.

[3] According to 1 Kings xv. 20, cf. 2 Kings xv. 29, he subdued Ijon, Dan, and Abel of Beth-maachah, as well as all the highlands along the whole province of Naphtali. These three cities were certainly, therefore, the nearest to Damascus; on the two last of them see ii. pp. 289, 302; Ijon may have been discovered in Merj 'Ayûn situated further north-west of Dan, as Robinson (*Bib. Res.* iii. 375, ed. 1856) conjectures, as the similarity between the names appears considerable; yet the latter name, *Spring-meadow*, sounds quite Arabic, and must in any case have been changed in modern times. כִּנְּרוֹת was evidently an ancient proper name for the highlands round the most northern tract of the Jordan, although in Josh. xix. 35 a city, perhaps the ancient capital of the district, also bears the same name; it may be contracted from كَنْدَرَة, so that Γεννήσαρετ also has the same origin.

nations into a province of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, which could only with difficulty offer any permanent resistance. On this occasion, however, the Aramean king appears to have withdrawn on receiving Baasha's promise to desist from the erection of the fortress against Judah, and to render other services the particulars of which have disappeared.[1] The king of Israel was compelled to restore Ramah in its unfinished state to Judah; and as soon as his troops were obliged by the disaster in the north to retire from it, Asa raised a levy of the whole nation for the destruction of the works already commenced there; while he employed the stores of stone and timber which thus fell into his hands in fortifying the two adjacent cities of Geba and Mizpah against a repetition of the inroads of the kings of the Ten Tribes. He further took the opportunity to provide Mizpah with a plentiful supply of water in case of a siege; and it was at this time that the great well was constructed in it which gained such a melancholy celebrity in the age of Jeremiah.[2]

2. The honour and power of the kingdom thus sank lower under the new dynasty than under its predecessor; while the fundamental errors of the latter remained unamended. It soon, therefore, became apparent how little gain resulted from the change; and a prophet named Jehu, son of Hanani, who, like Ahijah thirty years before, must have acquired considerable authority by his labours, publicly and repeatedly foretold the fall of this dynasty also, and at the same time openly blamed Baasha for having exterminated the house of Jeroboam by violence.[3] Baasha himself maintained his power, like Jeroboam, till his death, and was honourably buried in his capital of Tirzah. His son Elah, however, after a reign of not much longer than a year, met with the same fate as Jeroboam's son, after an equally short period; and it seemed as though this house was to fall almost by the same means by which it had overthrown its predecessor. The army was again in the field, before the fatal Philistine city of Gibbethon. The king, however, was meantime revelling in Tirzah, and drank immoderately at a banquet in the house of his steward Arza. Here he was assassinated by Zimri,[4] who was the commander of half the cavalry forces. Zimri immediately assumed royal power, and destroyed all the

[1] This follows from the expression 1 Kings x. 32; see more below.

[2] Jer. xli. 7-9. For the locality now identified with it see the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.* 1860, p. 617.

[3] Just as Jehu is described in 2 Kings x. as called to the throne by a prophet of Jahveh, and yet his cruelty against the house of Omri is condemned, Hos. i. 4.

[4] According to the spelling of the LXX Ζαμβρί.

adherents and friends of the house of Baasha. Only the queen and the other women of the palace escaped with their lives, as they willingly submitted to the effeminate murderer of their lord; and the queen-mother even appears to have made favourable advances to him.[1]

III. The House of Omri.

1. When an attempt was made in the person of Zimri to found a third dynasty in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, the monarchy, after an existence of scarcely half a century, had already sunk so low that it seemed to be no longer a refuge and protection but a burden and embarrassment to the state. Upon this the purely military energy of the people roused itself once more, and created in Omri a king who, having not the remotest claim to a prophetic call and relying upon no prophetic help, was free to try what could be accomplished by this popular force in union with the power of the crown. Bringing the royal authority into a stern prominence, the line which he founded maintained itself through four kings for a period equal to that of the two first dynasties together. Yet it soon served only to increase the existing evils and weaknesses, since from its origin its princes inevitably departed still further than their predecessors from the fundamental principles of the ancient religion. Our information about this half century is somewhat fuller, and enables us to perceive clearly into how deep an abyss it plunged the unhappy kingdom.

The troops besieging Gibbethon were so exasperated against Zimri, on hearing of his insurrection and the bloody deeds which followed, that they immediately elected a man in their eyes far more worthy of power, and proclaimed him king in the camp. This was Omri,[2] their commander-in-chief, who was, therefore, second only in rank to the king. Their next step was to raise the siege, and hasten with him to Tirzah. The effeminate Zimri, meantime, shut himself up in the capital, but could not prevent its speedy reduction by the assailants. Retiring to the women's apartments, the most secluded portion of the great palace,[3] and giving orders for it to be set on fire over his head, he killed himself like a Sardanapalus; he had reigned

[1] See 1 Kings xv. 32, xvi. 14. The circumstances connected with the women can, it is true, only be inferred from the brief words dropped by Jezebel in an exactly similar case, 2 Kings ix. 31; but the inference is certain, and the manner of Zimri's death agrees with it.

[2] According to the LXX, Ἀμβρί; Josephus transforms the name into Ἀμαρῖνος, as he does with many proper names.

[3] The true meaning of the word אַרְמוֹן is most clearly seen from this passage,

only a week. A rival king was indeed set up in the otherwise unknown Tibni, son of Ginath;[1] and a civil war commenced which lasted four years,[2] in which Tibni was chiefly supported by his brother Joram.[3] At length these two fell in battle together, and Omri remained sole king.

This prince, to judge from the few extant recollections of his career, was as enterprising as he was prudent: the only man of his day, perhaps, capable of establishing a sovereignty with any likelihood of lasting. The former capital Tirzah, where Zimri had burned the royal palace, and which could not long resist a siege, he resolved to abandon. Further north of Shechem he founded in its place a new capital in Samaria. This place was exceedingly well adapted for the purpose, and for two centuries maintained its position until the overthrow of the monarchy; and indeed in later days often gave its name to the whole kingdom. Up to this time it is probable that it had been altogether or very nearly uninhabited. The hill on which Samaria now rose to be the queen of the land, belonged to a wealthy person called Shemer, otherwise unknown to us, and was purchased from him by Omri for two silver talents,[4] so that the new city was from the beginning wholly an erection of the king's. The hill forms an eminence in a plain of great fertility, and is itself fertile up to its summit,[5] and in addition it is capable of being easily fortified. The judicious choice of the new capital certainly, therefore, contributed to prolong the existence of the kingdom. The chief seat of religion, on the other hand, continued undisturbed at Bethel.

Omri did not reign more than twelve years as sole king, and during six of these he still resided in Tirzah.[6] But he employed

1 Kings xvi. 18, as well as from 2 Kings xv. 25; according to this, it signifies much the same as Harem, with which it is perhaps allied by its root. If the women's apartments were not connected with the palace in the time of Solomon (iii. p. 250), the new style of architecture, which combined the two in one large building, must have been introduced soon after him, perhaps from Syria; cf. iii. p. 271.

[1] According to the LXX, Θαμνὶ υἱὸς Γωνάθ.

[2] This number results from a comparison of 1 Kings xvi. 15 with ver. 23.

[3] An evidently genuine addition of the LXX.

[4] According to 1 Kings xvi. 24 the city was called *Shôm'rôn* after Shemer; some Codd. of the LXX spell it, more conformably to its derivation, Σεμερών, to which the spelling Samaria also refers: Shôm'rôn, therefore, is interchanged with it as the proper name שֶׁמֶר itself with שׁוֹמֵר 1 Chron. vii. 32, 34. The later Samaritans, or more properly the New Samaritans, in expounding their name as though they were the true *Guardians* (שׁוֹמְרִים) *of the law*, were only playing upon the word.

[5] Cf. the allusions to the situation of Samaria, Is. xxviii. 4, Mic. i. 6; it is further described by Wilson, *Lands*, ii. p. 81, and Rosen, *Grenzboten*, 1860, p. 255 sqq. and elsewhere.

[6] Both statements, viz. that he reigned twelve years after the four years' civil war, and that the six years in Tirzah belong to these twelve, are clearly implied in the words in ver. 23. Their accordance with ver. 29 and with the whole chronology is explained at p. 21 sq.

the time very wisely in his own fashion, in endeavouring to secure greater prosperity for the kingdom, and at the same time a larger measure of tranquillity for his own house. He ruled the country like his camp, with great energy and decision, not even sparing the prophets when they interfered with his purposes.[1] Warned, however, by the fate of previous kings, he sought by concessions, and even provisional sacrifices, to secure the necessary tranquillity abroad, in order the more to strengthen his royal authority at home. He concluded peace with Judah, and thus established a new principle, to which his successors remained faithful, much to their own advantage. In the same way he made peace with Damascus, where Benhadad[2] was still on the throne, though on two somewhat hard conditions. In the first place he gave up some towns (we do not know exactly which), which the armies of Damascus appear to have occupied for some time; they probably lay exclusively on the east of the Jordan, and Ramoth in Gilead was perhaps among them.[3] In the second place he conceded to the Aramean king the right to 'establish fixed quarters in Samaria,' that is, to maintain a permanent embassy (as we might say) in a large and well-fortified house, with its own servants, &c., so as to be able the more easily to observe and exercise surveillance over the allied but half-subject country from its centre at the capital.[4] The modern right of embassy was not then in existence; and when it first appears, is only the one-sided right of the conqueror.—It was

[1] Comp. the expression in 1 Kings xvi. 25, which is never used of the three preceding kings.

[2] Pp. 24, 34.

[3] This may, at any rate, be inferred with tolerable certainty from 1 Kings xxii. 3.

[4] According to 1 Kings xx. 34. If the word חצות were to be understood to mean *streets* (for which in every other passage we find חוצות), it would still be hardly correct to understand by the expression 'to make streets in Samaria' that permission was given for Syrian merchants to carry on their trade freely in the city of Samaria, and that for that purpose they were to have a quarter of their own, just as the Tyrians occupied a quarter in Memphis. This meaning would not be implied clearly enough in the words. It would be preferable to regard them as military roads, which the conqueror stipulated to march through at pleasure, as the French did in 1807 through Prussia (see especially Klose's *Hardenberg*). Josephus mentions a similar case from later times, *Ant.* xiii. 9. 2; and in the Middle Ages the vassals were often required to keep their land open. If this be so, the account of the building of Ramah, belonging to the same period, might be compared. But no such intelligible meaning is to be got out of the word, nor is a comparison with حوش, *sale-booths* (Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, i. p. 84, ii. p. 155), to be thought of. The word may, however, be spelt חצות, and is to be compared either with محط, محطة, *settlement, station, camp*, or with the historically memorable خطط; the latter would suit the best, in as far as חצץ also corresponds with خط. The word was probably of Damascene origin; and the name of the city קְרִיַת חֻצוֹת, Num. xxii. 39, probably originally signifies *camp-city*, and should be spelt so.

in accordance with this policy that Omri's chief efforts were directed to the promotion of trade. Of this the marriage of his son and successor with a Tyrian princess was merely the plainest indication, and probably also the direct result. Connected with this, too, was the favour with which the influx of heathen religions and manners was promoted, while the remonstrances of the prophets were most severely chastised. These are the sort of 'statutes of Omri' whose deeply objectionable nature the later prophets still lament;[1] and such was the rapidity with which the northern kingdom relapsed—only a great deal more grievously—into the spirit of the last years of Solomon's reign!

2. What settled order Omri succeeded in establishing in other respects, in spite of his severity towards the prophets, and the humiliating conditions of his peace with Damascus, is clearly shown by the tranquillity in which his son Ahab, though a less able ruler, reigned for twenty-two years not altogether ingloriously, and was in his turn succeeded on the throne by his two sons, Ahaziah and Joram, for a period of fourteen years. Ahab (more correctly Achaab), who comes prominently before us through his connexion with the history of his great contemporary Elijah, was in fact rather a vain than a really cruel and arbitrary prince. Not unwarlike, or indifferent to the honour of his people and his house, and contending with partial success against the Arameans, he yet preferred peace with all its arts and advantages, and promoted it himself by all means in his power. He married (as has been already stated) a Sidonian, or rather a Tyrian princess named Jezebel,[2] daughter of Ethbaal king of Tyre, who had formerly been a priest of Astarte, but had violently dispossessed his brother Phelles (himself a usurper) of the throne.[3] The connexion thus formed with Phœnicia would, we may be sure, dispose him to promote peaceful trade; we are, however, specially informed besides that, like Solomon, he was fond of building cities.[4] During his reign, also, a certain Hiel, of Bethel, evidently a wealthy and enterprising man, reerected the city of Jericho, which[5] had lain in ruins ever since the conquest of Joshua. His loss of two sons while the restoration was going on revived indeed the ancient tradition of the curse pronounced upon the city by Joshua after its reduction, and gave rise to the saying that Hiel had had to lay the foun-

[1] Micah vi. 16.

[2] The name was spelt somewhat differently in Hellenistic Greek, Ἰεζαβέλ.

[3] According to 1 Kings xvi. 31, comp. with Menander in Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 13. 2, and *Contr. Apion.* i. 18; for the Ethbaal here mentioned fits in entirely with the exact chronology there given.

[4] 1 Kings xxii. 39.

[5] Vol. ii. p. 249.

dation of the new Jericho at the price of his first-born Abiram, and to set up its gates when it was completed at the price of his youngest son Segub.[1] From this time, however, the city continued to flourish, as it well deserved to do on account of the fertile plain in which it lay.[2] By thus promoting peace and commerce, Ahab found the means of preventing his reign from being destitute of art and splendour. He built himself a new palace with extensive gardens at Jezreel (now Zerîn), which lies on a charming eminence, open on all sides, in the fertile plain north of Samaria;[3] and either here or at Samaria stood his ivory house, which is celebrated as a special curiosity of his reign.[4] In the time of Solomon, ivory was first used for a chair of state;[5] Ahab decorated with it an entire house.[6]

But in a kingdom which had no firm foundation, this alliance with a Tyrian princess might easily prove exceedingly dangerous. From the times of David and Solomon, it is true, many treaties had been concluded between Phœnicia and Israel, and close bonds of friendship formed; and Tyre gladly sought to promote its own safety by remaining allied with its more immediate and powerful neighbour, while it naturally became the more indifferent towards Judah.[7] It was, however, at the same time, the special business of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes to restore the ancient rigidness of the nationality of Israel; a Canaanitish princess was necessarily, therefore, regarded with suspicion. Jezebel, moreover, belonging to a line which gained its crown by violence, was full of self-will, thirst for power, and arrogance. With perverse pride, she looked down upon a people whose religion she neither understood nor respected. Her influence over the king became only too great. At her desire he erected in Samaria a spacious temple of Baal, the principal Phœnician deity, to which four hundred and fifty priests were attached; and while the interior contained representations of the Sun-god (probably with his fellow deities) on numerous small pillars, a large statue of the same deity was set up in front of it.[8] He erected another splendid edifice of the same kind, with which four hundred priests were connected, as

[1] 1 Kings xvi. 34; cf. i. p. 114 *note* 3.

[2] Wherever Jericho is mentioned earlier, as in 2 Sam. x. 5, we must always assume it was a newly-built open city adjoining the ancient ruins.

[3] This is clear from the numerous allusions to it from 1 Kings xviii. 45 to 2 Kings x.

[4] 1 Kings xxii. 39. [5] Vol. iii. p. 250.

[6] There is subsequent mention of several such houses; Amos iii. 15, Ps. xlv. 9 [8].

[7] On these two points comp. Joel iv. [iii.] 4, Amos i. 9, Ps. xlv. 13 [12].

[8] 1 Kings xvi. 31 sq., xviii. 19, 2 Kings iii. 2, x. 25–27; cf. the *Alterthümer*, p. 262. The Astarte, as Jos. Gen. *Hypomn.* c. xxxix. explains ἡ Βαάλ (p. 27, *note* 7), is probably alluded to as the *star*, Amos v. 25, according to the description in Sanchoniathon, p. 36, 1 Orell.

an oracle-grove of Astarte;[1] this was probably near his favourite palace at Jezreel. At these sanctuaries the king of Israel offered sacrifices himself. His practice was certainly adopted by many in deference to the royal example. To others, the novelty and the sensual charm of the foreign religion proved the more attractive, the greater the prosperity they witnessed in the heathen states; and the king certainly thought trade and commerce increased when all restraints upon religion were removed. In this way the northern kingdom relapsed, only to a more grievous extent, into the errors of Solomon's reign, which it had been created to avoid. This tendency could not fail, however, to call forth from the prophets the strongest possible resistance; and several acts of civil injustice into which the king allowed himself to be hurried by Jezebel, such as the affair of Naboth, aroused against him with intenser bitterness the feeling of the Ten Tribes, which on questions of this kind was so sensitive. The decline of the kingdom, both nationally and religiously, into a far worse condition than under Solomon, while it had been torn from the house of David by the prophets for the express purpose of becoming something quite different, naturally gave rise to a mortal struggle between prophetism and the monarchy, which, after various vicissitudes, resulted in the overthrow of the house of Omri also, and once more raised the ancient power of prophetism to its highest point. This, however, will be better reviewed further on, in connexion with the labours of Elijah, the great prophetic hero of this age, and his successors.

IV. Condition of the People in this Century.

The general condition of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes during the first century of its independent existence may be ascertained, approximately at any rate, from detached indications. Neither the withdrawal of the Levites, nor the widening breach which at length assumed the most extreme form between the two great independent powers of the state—prophetism and the crown, could at once demoralise the mass of the people. From the better times that had gone before, there still remained a firm basis of healthy national life, as might be

[1] 1 Kings xvi. 33, xviii. 19; that this second structure was probably erected at Jezreel, is certainly only an inference from the fact that it is not mentioned in the minute and ancient narrative in 2 Kings x. 25–27. Further, the prophets of the two temples, so often named in 1 Kings xviii., were quite different from the priests.

expected in a community which had been long trained in so true a religion, and had just passed through a hundred years of such growth as had recently marked the history of Israel.[1]

The most striking evidence of the condition of the people at this time is supplied by the Canticles. This poem occupies in many respects a strange and unique position in the Old Testament, and only becomes intelligible to us when we refer it back to the period and country in which it appears to have arisen.[2] We find ourselves transported in it, in the most vivid manner, into a time which still retained a definite historical remembrance of all the peculiarities of the age of Solomon, and which was flooded by a most copious stream of genuine popular recollections of David and Solomon; for this cantata must have been composed before Tirzah, as the capital of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, had ceased to be the rival of Jerusalem. But we also feel ourselves surrounded in it by the breezes of that popular feeling against the moral transgressions of the magnificent Solomon, which was the peculiar characteristic of the moment when the kingdom of the Ten Tribes was founded, and of its early years, and stirred the noblest fibres of its heart. It was not written for the purpose of showing why the kingdom of the Ten Tribes revolted from the house of Solomon; but it unintentionally exhibits the spirit which brought about this event, and which might remain in full force fifty or a hundred years later. That the poem is one whole, and constitutes a sort of popular drama, or more correctly speaking, a cantata, may now be regarded as proved.[3] It thus affords us remarkable evidence of the vigorous development then attained by art, and of the extent to which the artistic activity, so powerfully aroused under Solomon, retained its hold on the general national life, even in more and more unfavourable times.[4] The

[1] Consider, for instance, the modesty of the woman of Shunem, 2 Kings iv. 12 sq.

[2] I still abide in all essentials by my treatment of this poem in 1826. The kingdom of the Ten Tribes is also pointed to by the name of the heroine of the piece *Shûlammîth*, i.e. maiden of Shunem (vol. iii. p. 103; *Lehrb.* p. 405, ed. 1863). Echoes of Canticles vii. 10 [9] are found in Prov. xxiii. 31; of Cant. viii. 7 in Prov. vi. 30 sq.; of Cant. vi. 9 in Prov. xxxi. 28; of Cant. viii. 6 in Jer. xxii. 24, Hagg. ii. 23; from which it may be seen that this 'most beautiful song,' after being long forgotten, was once more much read, at any rate from the end of the eighth century.

[3] The doubts of the dramatic nature of the song arise from a misconception partly of the song itself, partly of the history of the drama among all nations. Nothing is more foolish than to deny that the beginnings of the drama are found in every nation that is at all civilised, and that they everywhere originate with the great popular festivals; the only question is to what extent it has in each case developed from its first beginnings. Even in the present Mohammedan Persia there are public performances (cf. *Le Théâtre en Perse*, par Alex. Chodzko, Paris, 1844; *Ausland*, 1844, p. 891), as well as among the Ethiopians (*Ausland*, 1845, p. 1020). Compare further my later remarks in the *Dichter des A. B.* i. p. 38 sqq. (p. 78 in 2nd ed.), and in the *Tub. Theol. Jahrbb.* 1843, p. 752 sqq.

[4] P. 40.

cheerful sportiveness of art which seeks the relief of expression in this work, finds a complete parallel in the plenty and almost luxury which, as its vivid descriptions prove, prevailed far and wide, when an animated commerce with foreign countries poured all sorts of valuable commodities and objects of art into Israel, and thus, while the prosperity of the country was still on the whole without a cloud, stimulated in a hundred ways the artistic feeling and the desire of the people. And yet, in the midst of all this widespread cheerfulness and even luxury, the song breathes at the same time such deep morality and chaste innocence of heart, such determined defiance of the over-refinement and degeneracy of the court-life, such stinging scorn of the growing corruptions of life in great cities and palaces, that no clearer or stronger testimony can be found of the healthy vigour which in this century still characterised the nation at large, than this finished yet simple poem.

Further evidence of the sturdy spirit which prevailed during the early days of the northern kingdom, which, through all its restlessness, was so bravely striving for a higher end, is afforded by the song of victory subsequently put into the mouth of Hannah,[1] which has been already criticised.[2]

It is now, however, time to conduct the history of the southern kingdom through the first century after the disruption, that we may see what position it took by the side of its more powerful rival.

B. THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH IN THE FIRST CENTURY.

I. The Successors of Solomon.

1. This kingdom was placed at first, as has been already remarked,[3] in the most embarrassing position. Solomon's son Rehoboam, evidently supported by a very powerful party in Jerusalem, was determined not to quit the path which had been entered upon during the latter period of his father's reign, and adhered to it in spite of the revolt of the Ten Tribes. He therefore tolerated, or even promoted, probably from personal preference, the practice of foreign religious rites: and indeed it was to its maintenance of this larger freedom that the southern kingdom, in contrast to the northern, at first owed much of its power and resources. Not that the temple service of Jahveh was given up by the king. On the contrary, Jahveh continued

[1] 1 Sam. ii. 1-10. [2] P. 33, *note* 4. [3] P. 10.

to be the proper national deity; his worship had been introduced into the splendid temple, and the Levites,[1] faithful to it, now withdrew in increasing numbers from the north into the smaller kingdom of Judah. By its side, however, sanctuaries were erected at pleasure to other deities,[2] and their worshippers were tolerated. Even the shameless votaries of the goddess of love, who were vowed to sell themselves for money, male as well as female, now found protection.[3] Such were the excesses beyond the utmost limits of Solomon's toleration which inevitably ensued.

While the two kingdoms thus remained essentially antagonistic, the prophet Shemaiah, in the first moment of their separation, might enjoin[4] the southern to remain at peace with its sister state, but inducements and provocations to mutual hostilities, and even to actual war, could not long be wanting; and indeed we have already seen that half a century elapsed in a state of permanent belligerence. In this, Judah had obviously at first the most to fear as well as to suffer. The zeal of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes against the house of Solomon was still fresh: and there were Jeroboam's Egyptian alliances[5] which might prove very dangerous to Solomon's son. Psusennes, the last king of the twenty-first dynasty, with whom Solomon was in many ways so closely connected, had died during Solomon's lifetime, after a reign of twenty-five years; and the next dynasty (the twenty-second) of Bubastic kings immediately assumed under its first sovereign Sesonchis, who appears in Hebrew as Shishak,[6] a very different position towards Solomon and his house. We are no longer acquainted with the causes which embittered the feeling of the new Egyptian dynasty against Jerusalem. It is, however, clear that Sesonchis

[1] P. 28.

[2] The statues mentioned in 1 Kings xiv. 23 were evidently statues of Baal, such as were erected half a century later in the northern kingdom also (see p. 40); for it is clear from ancient authorities that these heathen religions were not tolerated in the kingdom of Israel until the reign of Ahab, although the last narrator, in his representation in 1 Kings xiv. 23 compared with xii. 31, partly obliterates this historical difference.

[3] They are called *dogs*, Deut. xxiii. 18 sq., and similarly among the Greeks and Romans κύναιδοι (*cinædi*); that the masculine singular קָדֵשׁ which is used in 1 Kings xiv. 24, xxii. 47 [46] as a generic name, includes also the females of this description named in other places, is self-evident.

[4] Vol. iii. p. 314.

[5] Vol. iii. p. 305.

[6] Also Shûshak, 1 Kings xiv. 25, in the Q'rî, just as the LXX have everywhere Σουσακίμ. The spelling Sesonchis occurs in Georgius Syncellus, Sesonchôsis is found in Eusebius; the former appears the more correct; the *n* fell out in the Hebrew form as in נֹף (according to my *Lehrb.* § 118*a*) from מֹף, i.e. Memphis.—For the rest no elaborate proof is now needed to understand how arbitrarily and incorrectly Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 10, confounds this Shishak with the great conqueror Sesostris, or rather credits Herodotus (ii. 11) with the confusion. In that case certainly the march of the Egyptian troops against Jerusalem would require a very different explanation.

protected Jeroboam, who had taken refuge at his court, against Solomon.[1] Nothing, moreover, would afford greater satisfaction to a new ruling house in Egypt than to see an irremediable disruption in the nation of Israel when it was acquiring so much power; and hence it is only too probable that Sesonchis promised Jeroboam assistance and support of every kind against Rehoboam. Besides this there were the extremely embarrassing relations between Judah and the broad district of Edom on the south, which had been subdued by David. The position of this country[2] certainly secured its continued connexion with Judah; but it constantly attempted with Egyptian help to regain its independence, as we may conclude from what has been already said,[3] and as subsequent events proved.[4] It is no wonder that under such perilous circumstances attention was soon turned anxiously in Judah to every means of self-defence. An exact enumeration[5] is still extant of fifteen cities south and west of Jerusalem which Rehoboam fortified with great care, and provided with everything likely to be wanted—able commanders, arms, and stores of every description. In thus attempting to protect the kingdom by a belt of fortresses, he was only carrying on what Solomon had already begun,[6] but the much larger number of cities which Rehoboam fortified in his little kingdom indicates his increased alarm, while their position points to Egypt as the quarter from which he expected danger; and nothing militates against the hypothesis,—which is, on the other hand, rendered probable by the place of this narrative in the Chronicles as well as by the general position of Rehoboam,—that he commenced these fortifications immediately after coming to the throne.

In the fifth year of his reign,[7] however, Rehoboam really did

[1] Vol. iii. p. 305.

[2] P. 4.

[3] Vol. iii. p. 217 sq.

[4] In Joel iv. 19, the only bitter enemies of Judah are Egypt and Edom.

[5] According to 2 Chron. xi. 5–12. This is the first thing which the Chronicler has to narrate after the separation of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. The city of Adoraim (mentioned nowhere else) is the later Adôra or Dôra, the present Dûra west of Hebron; cf. Robinson's *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 215, ed. 1856.

[6] Vol. iii. p. 259 sq.

[7] The Chronicler (2 Chron. xi. 13–17, xii. 1 sq.) represents the general relation of events as if Rehoboam had ruled well for the first three years, and had been supported by the Levites who collected in Judah and by many other Israelites (cf. 2 Chron. xv. 9, xxxi. 6), but then, believing his power well established, had revolted from God, and on that account had been visited in the fifth year by the Egyptian chastisement. This must only be taken, however, as an edifying reconstruction of ancient scattered recollections. The same remark applies to the representation immediately after (2 Chron. xii. 5–8, 12) of the prophet Shemaiah at first threatening complete ruin, but when Rehoboam and the rest of the great nobles who had fled to Jerusalem repented, so far mitigating the severity of the divine chastisement as that they should merely become subject to the Egyptians, that they might learn the difference between the human and the divine lord (as in the time of the Chronicler

see his country visited with an invasion of Egyptian troops. According to the Chronicler, the army included Egyptians, Libyans, Cave-dwellers,[1] and Ethiopians, pouring in with twelve hundred chariots, sixty thousand cavalry, and almost innumerable hosts of infantry. The inability of Judah to resist such a shock with honour is easily explicable from what has been already said of its condition. Not all the belt of fortresses around Jerusalem could arrest the progress of the advancing army. Jerusalem itself was captured, and the son of Solomon could only purchase peace by humiliating conditions. Of their precise nature we are not informed; nor do we know the details of the events.[2] All that has been transmitted to us is that Jerusalem was completely stripped of all its treasures, both those in the temple, and those in the royal treasury; but the career of Solomon, then scarcely concluded, enables us to judge of the immense value of the booty carried off by the Egyptians, if not in actual money, at any rate in costly vessels and ornaments. The vain successor of Solomon consoled himself, meantime, as well as he could, for so great a loss of honour and splendour. Instead of his father's golden shields,[3] which were carried away by the Egyptians, he ordered brazen ones to be made, which were borne before him by his guards in solemn procession, as though everything were the same as before![4]

How the nations hitherto subject to Judah, especially the Philistines and Edomites, were affected by this Egyptian campaign, we are not more particularly informed. The Philistines, who, when we meet with them in later times, have regained their freedom, probably emancipated themselves at this period, with the assistance of Egypt, from the supremacy of Judah. The city of Gath, however, which, at the beginning of

it had long been learned with sorrow); a representation which is an almost verbal imitation of 1 Kings xxi. 28 sq. On the other hand, xii. 3 certainly contains extracts from ancient sources.

[1] These were aboriginal inhabitants of Africa, as they are described under this name by Pomp. Mela, i. 8. The Hebrew word *Sukkîim*, properly *dwellers in huts*, seems at any rate capable of meaning something similar, cf. Job xxx. 6; there is, however, a city of that country, Suché, near Adulé, mentioned in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vi. 34. The LXX actually translated it *Troglodytes*.

[2] In the great palace at Karnak Champollion found a representation of king Shishak as conqueror over many princes, among them one with a so-called Jewish face and the inscription 'King of Judah.' In that he was mistaken indeed; yet, since then, several further discoveries have been made respecting this Egyptian expedition, and it has been attempted to trace it according to the Egyptian inscriptions by numerous names of cities; cf. Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, ii. p. 56 sqq.; Blau in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesell.* 1861, pp. 233–250; Rougé in the *Revue Archéol.* 1861, p. 348; *Theol. Stud. und Krit.* 1863, p. 733; but all this requires to be worked out with far more exactness.

[3] Vol. iii. p. 265.

[4] Vol. iii. p. 251.

Solomon's reign,[1] had a tributary king of its own, was probably permanently united during his lifetime with Judah, as it was among the cities fortified by Rehoboam, and most likely did not recover its independence till the reign of Jehoram. With the exception of Gath, all the five petty kingdoms of the Philistines now threw off the yoke of subjection, including even Ekron in the north, which had in ancient times belonged to the tribe of Dan, but had been attached by David to Judah.[2] The Egyptian aid probably enabled the Edomites also to gain their freedom, or, at least, to obtain a king of their own race; they only remained so, however, until Jehoshaphat once more completely subjugated them, as will be more fully explained further on.—How far the new kingdom of the Ten Tribes itself took any part in this Egyptian expedition against Jerusalem, we cannot tell. According to a much later statement,[3] Jeroboam had even married a daughter of the Egyptian king Shishak; and his close alliance with him may be inferred from what has been already said.[4] But no particulars of any joint action on the part of these two kings on this expedition have been transmitted to us.

The reign of Rehoboam lasted seventeen years, so that, at his death, he was fifty-eight years old.[5] He had eighteen wives and sixty concubines,[6] twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters. Most of his sons he wisely appointed governors of districts and commandants of fortresses,[7] thus securing for each of them an honourable maintenance and a number of wives from the neighbourhood where his duties lay. Three of his own wives were from the royal house of Judah itself; he was particularly attached to the third, Maachah, a daughter, or rather granddaughter, of the once celebrated Absalom.[8] Her first-born son, Abijah, received special marks of his father's favour, and was solemnly designated by him as his successor.[9]

[1] Vol. iii. p. 215 [also p. 148, *note* 9].

[2] According to 2 Kings i. 2 sqq. comp. with Josh. xix. 43.

[3] Georgius Syncellus, *Chronogr.* i. p. 346, Bonn.

[4] Vol. iii. p. 305; supra, p. 25.

[5] Vol. iii. p. 312. In the altered account following 1 Kings xii. 24, alluded to in p. 32 *note*, the LXX depart widely from this and represent Rehoboam as eleven years old at his accession, and as reigning twelve years; the former number is perhaps a sort of joke based on the expression 'Rehoboam at the time of the disruption was too young (i.e. fresh and inexperienced) and feeble-spirited,' 2 Chron. xiii. 7.

[6] Josephus says thirty.

[7] A somewhat similar practice is presupposed in the case of another king, Ps. xlv. 17 [16]. The ancient kingdom of Israel was therefore still far removed in this respect from the abominable customs of a Turkish empire.

[8] If this really is, as is probable, the well-known Absalom, Maachah must have been his granddaughter, 2 Sam. xiv. 27. Her descent from him is, it is true, somewhat uncertain (see 2 Sam. xviii. 18); yet, at any rate, the family name Maachah agrees well with it, 2 Sam. iii. 3; for her proper name was (Michaiah) daughter of Uriel of Gibeah, 2 Chron. xiii. 2.

[9] All these statements in 2 Chron. xi.

Abijah, who died after a reign of only three years, seems to have been already somewhat advanced in life at his accession, as he is described as having fourteen wives, twenty-two sons, and sixteen daughters.[1] He followed entirely in Rehoboam's footsteps. In religious matters he shared his father's views and principles, and he, likewise, had to encounter yearly wars against the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. In these wars, however, he appears to have been rather more successful. From the mountain city of Zemaraim, which lay south of Bethel[2] and seems to have been at that time the northernmost point of his territory, he conquered three cities with their villages, the well-known Bethel, Jeshanah,[3] and Ephron, the first of which, however, must have been tolerably soon restored to the northern kingdom. The ancient authorities used by the Chronicler certainly contained a statement of some such termination of the wars, and so far we cannot fail to recognise in it a genuine tradition. But in the heathenish Samaria of his own time, this narrator saw the regular copy of the ancient kingdom of the Ten Tribes, and he accordingly seizes this opportunity to make Abijah deliver a long address of rebuke and exhortation to the enemy, as rebels not against the house of David only but against the true religion; a speech which, so far as its abstract, religious truth was concerned, might easily be quite as applicable to the Samaritans of a later day.[4] In the battle itself (such is the representation of this narrator, who gives a fresh animation to all details) four hundred thousand men of Judah were engaged against eight hundred thousand of Israel; and although the judicious disposition of an ambuscade enabled Jeroboam to make a simultaneous attack upon the Judahites in front and rear, yet the latter, imploring the aid of God the more earnestly in their distress, conquered amid the trumpet blasts of the priests and slew their adversaries to the number of five hundred

18–23, cf. 1 Kings xv. 2, are plainly derived ultimately from the state annals; in ver. 18 וְאֶת is to be inserted before אֲבִיחַיִל. Instead of Abijah as in the Chronicles, the form *Abijam* always occurs in 1 Kings, perhaps only through a copyist's mistake easily made in Hebrew; for the name Ἀβίου in the LXX, representing the abbreviated pronunciation for Abijáhu, agrees with the former.

[1] 2 Chron. xiii. 21.

[2] It is placed together with Bethel in Josh. xviii. 22.

[3] Jeshanah, or, according to the LXX, Ἰεσυνά, is nowhere mentioned again; Ephron, with the mountain of the same name, Josh. xv. 9, probably lay further westward on the southern boundary of the ancient tribe of Benjamin, unless with the Q'ri we are to read Ephraim, and identify this with the city of the east mentioned in John xi. 54; all these cities are described as belonging to the 'mountain of Ephraim' in the larger sense, 2 Chron. xv. 8. Cf., further, iii. p. 172, *note* 1.

[4] Every word and every idea in the speech 2 Chron. xiii. 4–12 bears the peculiar colouring of the Chronicler; the expression in ver. 9 has been clearly modelled on 1 Kings xiii. 33. Further, the Chronicler calls this prince neither bad (as in 1 Kings xv. 1–8, 12) nor good.

thousand men. The vague nature of the numerical statements proves how freely the whole account is here rendered.

2. But whatever advantages the second king of Judah may have gained in a single campaign over the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, the time was inevitably approaching when the remnant of the kingdom of David would realise the untenable nature of its position. The hope of seeing the revolted tribes again united with it faded further and further away with every year of the existence of the northern kingdom, especially since Jeroboam's house when it fell had been replaced by another which was, if possible, more hostile still. Moreover, there were certainly some great prophets in Jerusalem labouring with growing resolution and boldness to counteract the influences of heathenism, and they showed that it was only by returning to the strict maintenance of the true religion that the kingdom could secure unity and strength at home, and spiritual pre-eminence abroad, even over the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, which was allowing itself imperceptibly to depart further and further from the rigid observance of the ancient faith. We cannot trace in detail the transition which Judah now underwent to a wholly different tendency; but we hear of two prophets, Azariah, the son of Oded, and Hanani, who then laboured successfully in Jerusalem with this view.[1] But the strongest testimony to this change is afforded by the reign of Asa, the son and successor of Abijah, who is unanimously affirmed by the historical works to have pursued a wholly opposite course to that of his two predecessors, and to have striven to walk entirely in the ways of David. As far as he could, he removed from the kingdom all traces of the heathenism which had been either tolerated or promoted by the three preceding sovereigns;[2] and this purpose he seems to have had very seriously at heart at the very beginning of his reign (which lasted forty-one, or, better, forty-seven years),[3] for he degraded from her high position the queen-mother who had made a phallus for the grove of the goddess of love, which he ordered to be burned to ashes as an everlasting disgrace, and thrown into the brook

[1] They are, it is true, only mentioned by the Chronicles, 2 Chron. xv. 1, 8 (where the complete name Azariah, the son of Oded, should be restored according to ver. 1), xvi. 7; but their names are certainly derived from ancient sources, and only the colouring of the speeches which are here put in their mouths at some length, is from the hand of the Chronicler.

[2] According to 2 Chron. xiv. 2–4, he also removed the 'heights;' but in xv 17 it is stated (following the books of Kings) that the 'heights' were not yet done away with. The same circumstance recurs in the case of Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xvii. 6, cf. xx. 33. The Chronicler could only, therefore, suppose that these pious kings had already made attempts to remove them, but that they proved almost fruitless.

[3] P. 22.

Kidron.[1] The consecrated gifts of his prematurely deceased father, which the idolatrous priests either had brought or wished to bring into their sanctuaries, he deposited along with his own in the house of Jahveh; and he restored the great altar in the temple, which seems to have been desecrated by the idolatrous priests.[2]

Asa could not, indeed, by adopting this new course, at once remove from the little kingdom of Judah the numerous evils which pressed upon it from without. According to the Chronicles, he had two different wars to encounter. First of all, Zerah the Ethiopian, with a million Ethiopian and Libyan cavalry and infantry and three hundred chariots, marched against Jerusalem. Asa, however, according to the united testimony of tradition, possessed great personal bravery;[3] he had, besides, if we may trust the Chronicles, summoned his subjects to observe the true religion; and he had also a well-equipped army of three hundred thousand men from the tribe of Judah, and two hundred and eighty thousand from Benjamin, in readiness. The enemy reached Mareshah on the plain in the south-west of the country;[4] but before they could advance much further, Asa attacked them in the valley of Zephathah. He defeated them, and pursued them to Gerar on the extreme south of Palestine, conquered all the small towns in the neighbourhood of this city, which was then certainly occupied by the Philistines, and returned with immense spoil to Jerusalem. Upon this (continues the Chronicler) appeared a prophet, who earnestly ex-

[1] As Moses did with the Aaronic idolatrous image, according to Ex. xxxii. 20. The word מִפְלֶצֶת, 1 Kings xv. 13, 2 Chron. xv. 16, which occurs nowhere else and was very obscure even to the ancient translators, cannot have the general meaning of an idolatrous image, but must denote something peculiar to this cultus. The word תִּפְלֶצֶת, Jer. xlix. 16 (cf. מִפְלֶצֶת, Ephraemi Opp. iii. p. 248), means levity or wantonness and shamelessness; it may very well have been a heathen name for Priapus or Phallus, which is quite in place here.—A difficult question arises as to how the queen-mother, 1 Kings xv. 10, 13, 2 Chron. xv. 16, could bear the same name as the queen-mother of the preceding king, 1 Kings xv. 2, 2 Chron. xi. 18–22. That Abijah's mother was really named Maachah, daughter of Absalom, is firmly established by the precise passage last quoted, although the Chronicler himself subsequently calls her (through we know not what confusion) 2 Chron. xiii. 2, Michaiah (daughter of Uriel) of Gibeah. If we might assume that Asa was the brother of his predecessor, the difficulty would be removed, but the tradition is opposed to this, as well as the passage 2 Chron. xi. 20. Perhaps she was the grandmother of Asa, but retained her position because his own mother had died early, much as Athaliah maintained herself in power at a later period.

[2] According to 1 Kings xv. 15 (to be emended according to 2 Chron. xv. 18); 2 Chron. xv. 8.

[3] According to the extract from the State-annals, 1 Kings xv. 23. This is also confirmed by Ps. xx., if this psalm (as is quite probable) refers to Asa; cf. remarks below, and the *Dichter des A. B.* i. 2, p. 82 sqq., 3rd ed.

[4] The city lay, as Robinson makes out with probability (*Bibl. Res.* ii. p. 67 sq. ed. 1856), somewhat east of the later Eleutheropolis; only, in that case, the Christian Fathers have confounded it with Moresheth, near Gath.

horted the king and his subjects, as well as the foreigners of other tribes who had availed themselves of the prosperity of Judah to seek the king's protection, to give up all idolatry. Obedient to this summons, the whole nation, in the third month of the fifteenth year of Asa's reign, assembled at a solemn festival, at which seven hundred of the captured oxen and seven thousand of the sheep were sacrificed, and took a vow of loyal fidelity to the true religion.[1] The whole of this description, so far as it supplies religious lessons and examples, is peculiar to the Chronicler alone; and after the practice of his age, familiar with the vast armies of the Persians, he may have inserted the high numbers of the combatants on either side. But this renders it all the more certain that the Chronicler must have derived his information of the actual occurrence of the campaign, as well as of the localities of Asa's victory, from some ancient source; so that the question arises who Zerah the Ethiopian was, and what was his object in marching against Jerusalem. It has been recently observed that the name Zerah[2] bears some similarity to Osorthôn, the second king of the twenty-second Egyptian dynasty, assuming that the reading Osorchôn in Manetho's catalogues is the original.[3] To this it may be objected[4] that Zerah is not, like Shishak, described in the Chronicles as king of Egypt, nor even in general terms as king, but simply as 'the Ethiopian.' We do not know, however, to what extent the narrative may have been abbreviated before it reached the Chronicler. And anyhow, this expedition of an African army may have some connexion with Shishak's first conquest of Judah. After the disasters of the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign, Judah, no doubt, paid tribute to Egypt. This may have been refused by Asa;

[1] 2 Chron. xiv. 1–xv. 15; cf. xvi. 8.

[2] This similarity appears with greater clearness in the more correct form of the name, Zerach.

[3] The name Osorchôn is found on the shields of Egyptian kings; cf. Rosellini's *Monumenti Storici*, I. part ii. p. 86 sq.

[4] This is principally urged by Rosellini; and the city of Bubastes from which this Egyptian dynasty derived its name, lay far away from Ethiopia in Lower Egypt. Before him, Salt believed that he could decipher the name Zerah on the Egyptian mining works of the peninsula of Sinai. Moreover, it is certainly a question whether כּוּשִׁי in this passage and in 2 Chron. xxi. 16 is not connected with the name of the North-Arabian people Cushan (i. p. 315, *note* 1), so as to designate here merely an Arabian king. But the coincidence of this name with that familiar to us from the Egyptian history can scarcely be accidental; and in a similar way, when narrating the expedition of Sesonchis, 2 Chron. xii. 3. the Chronicler specially enumerates the Ethiopians and other non-Egyptian nations only, as though the Ethiopian nations in particular had really at that time constituted the strength of the Egyptians. The same essential fact may be observed in the expedition of Tirhakah in Hezekiah's time, to be described subsequently. Cf. the essay of Lepsius on the Twenty-second Egyptian Dynasty in the *Berl. Acad. Abhh.* 1856, p. 259 sqq.; in opposition to which Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 228, maintains that he was a purely Ethiopian king.

and an Egyptian king may very likely have despatched against Judah an army, which perhaps consisted principally of Ethiopians. This is the last time for a long period that we hear of any armed interference by Egyptian or Ethiopian sovereigns in the affairs of Asia. Egypt seems once more to have been too much occupied with its own concerns, although it continued an object of dread to Palestine.[1]

Less favourable, at any rate, for Judah's honour abroad was the course of Asa's war with Baasha, the king of the Ten Tribes, the issue of which has been already narrated.[2] In order to ward off the pressure of Baasha's attack, Asa was obliged to collect all the money and articles of value which had been left behind in the treasuries of the temple and the palace after the conquest of Shishak, or which had been since accumulated, and to purchase with them the energetic assistance of the king of Damascus. The prophet Hanani, however (if we may trust the representation of the Chronicles), condemned this invocation of the aid of the Aramean sovereign; and this excited such disturbances in Jerusalem that Asa, in a rage, had him thrown into prison, and punished several of the people in other ways.[3]

Yet the prosperity of the kingdom visibly augmented during the long reign of Asa.[4] An excellent prince in the main, he lived to see the house of Omri in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes adopt a pacific feeling towards Judah as one of its first principles. We cannot, unfortunately, assign the more important events of the forty-seven years of Asa's reign to their respective dates with sufficient certainty,[5] but it is in general

[1] Cf. 2 Kings vii. 6; Joel iv. [iii.] 19.

[2] P. 34 sq.

[3] This account, 2 Chron. xvi. 7–10, is evidently derived from an ancient source; but the particular style of the prophet's words is peculiar to the Chronicler, and has been added by him.

[4] The cities which are said, in the extract from the State-annals, 1 Kings xv. 23, to have been constructed by Asa, cannot certainly be the same as the two there specified to have been erected by him as fortresses. Yet the Chronicler, 2 Chron. xiv. 5 [6] sq., seems to have had only fortresses in his mind.

[5] The Chronicler, it is true, supplies several dates. First, Asa had peace for ten years, 2 Chron. xiii. 23 [xiv. 1], cf. xiv. 5 [6] sq.; then came the war with the Ethiopians, and in the fifteenth year of his reign the great festival of victory was celebrated, xv. 10; this was followed by peace till the thirty-fifth year; in the thirty-sixth came the war with Israel, xv. 19; and in the thirty-ninth he was attacked by his disease, xvi. 12. The Chronicler, however, generally has other objects in view than to supply dates from ancient authorities, and it accordingly appears sufficiently clearly from xvi. 1 that he was not intending to make a strict historical statement; for, in the thirty-sixth year of Asa's reign Baasha, according to the older authorities, had been dead several years. An attempt might be made to remove this difficulty by assuming that the Chronicler had here confused an ancient computation by the years of the kingdom of Judah, or (what is the same thing) the disruption of the Davidic kingdom, with the years of the reign of king Asa alone; for the event here narrated might have happened in the thirty-sixth year after the disruption. But a further difficulty is involved in the ten

clear that during his latter years the tranquillity and prosperity of the country constantly increased. Asa himself, in advanced age, suffered from disease of the foot. His consultation of physicians on his case, proves what a high civilisation had still been maintained in Judah since the time of Solomon; although the Chronicler, in accordance with the more rigid idea of the proper means of cure which it was endeavoured to establish in his day, only reproaches him for this step.[1] He died in high honour, and was buried with great solemnity.

3. The long reign of Asa marks the noble era in the middle of this century of the history of Judah, when the kingdom regained its consciousness of its higher destiny and formed the conviction that it was the seat of a loftier power for the active promotion of the true religion, and was intended for a prolonged existence. It followed, therefore, in due course, that Asa's son and successor Jehoshaphat, who came to the throne at the age of thirty-five years, carried on the government on the same principles. His reign was only terminated after a period of twenty-five years by his death. As brave in battle as his father,[2] and with greater enterprise and daring, he carried out many of Asa's plans still further, and the same decision marked his policy alike abroad and at home.

At home, like Asa, he tolerated no idolatry, and endeavoured to efface whatever vestiges of it still remained. His reign was marked by the labours of two prophets, mentioned in the historical books, Jehu the son of Hanani, and Eliezar the son of Dodavah;[3] the former had at an early period ministered in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes,[4] and may have settled in Judah in consequence of his expulsion from it.—Jehoshaphat, however, made an important step in advance, in his anxious endeavours to enable the people to participate in the true benefits of the higher religion, as far as came within the scope of his royal power. In the first place, he appointed competent persons to give instruction all over the country in more precise knowledge of religion and the laws. Five of the most respected of the laity,

years of tranquillity with which Asa's reign commences, for, according to 1 Kings xv. 16, 32 (in the latter passage we should probably read Nadab for Baasha), as well as judging by the internal situation, the mutual hostilities of the two kingdoms continued, although nothing more important than a few marauding expeditions may have been undertaken in ordinary years. On the other hand, there is no reason why the Chronicler should invent such dates without having any basis for them at all. The thirty-sixth year in xvi. 1 seems therefore to have arisen originally in the different connexion already alluded to; while the ten years in xiii. 23 [xiv. 1] (which even there are very indefinite) appear to have belonged originally to the end of Asa's reign.

[1] 2 Chron. xvi. 12.

[2] 1 Kings xxii. 46 [45] and other evidence.

[3] 2 Chron. xix. 2, xx. 34, 37.

[4] P. 35.

nine Levites, and two priests, visited every place in the kingdom; not omitting the smallest, to spread far and wide those blessings of needful knowledge which could always be obtained in abundance at Jerusalem. In the next place, he provided good judges, nominating the high-priest supreme judge in ecclesiastical cases, while a layman of great authority was made the final appeal in royal, i.e. civil cases. He further appointed Levites as their assessors, and enjoined on them with special emphasis the strictest administration of justice.[1] Hitherto the king alone had decided all disputes which had not been settled by the arbitrators. This arrangement, which had necessarily given rise to many evils,[2] Jehoshaphat now replaced by an organised system of jurisdiction; and he brought the whole of his authority to bear on the swift and impartial administration of justice, to secure which is the proper aim of the royal supervision.

Abroad Jehoshaphat gained victory and renown. The whole of Idumea, which under his three predecessors had probably maintained its own kings, though perhaps at times in a sort of feudal dependence upon Judah,[3] he once more completely subjugated as far as the Arabian sea, and ruled as only David and Solomon had done before him. The victory was certainly, however, not secured without numerous contests; of one of which a remote tradition at any rate has been preserved in the Chronicles. This is the account of the miraculously easy victory won by Jehoshaphat over the united forces of the 'Moabites, Ammonites, and inhabitants of Mount Seir.'[4] These hostile bands

[1] These two sets of arrangements are described in 2 Chron. xvii. 7–9, xix. 5–11. The elements peculiar to the Chronicler only in these two representations are easily discernible. The book of the law which the teachers had, xvii. 9, was not (as the Chronicler might suppose) the present Pentateuch, but other ancient works might be already in use; and the beautiful speech of Jehoshaphat on the administration of justice, xix. 6–11, bears strong marks of the Chronicler's hand. The basis of his narrative, however, the Chronicler certainly derived from ancient sources; the numerous names which are supplied must be historical; the high-priest Amariah, xix. 11, belongs according to 1 Chron. v. 37 [vi. 11] to the fifth generation after David, just as Jehoshaphat is the fifth successor of David.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 176.

[3] Exact evidence on this point is certainly wanting, cf. pp. 45–47. But the short remark in 1 Kings xxii. 48 [47], that in Jehoshaphat's time 'no king had been appointed in Edom as king (i.e. as actual king),' points to the belief that before his reign there was such a king in Edom, although he perhaps entered into a certain relation of dependence with the king of Judah, as was immediately the case again under Jehoram, 2 Kings iii. 12. Further, no other supposition renders it intelligible why it was not till then that Jehoshaphat endeavoured to resume the navigation of the Arabian sea.

[4] 2 Chron. xx. 1–30. The inhabitants of Mount Seir are not named, it is true, in ver. 1, but they appear in vv. 10, 22, and that they were sufficiently numerous is clear from ver. 23. Accordingly in ver. 1, for the word העמונים, which is in every way unintelligible and incorrect, we ought to read המעונים; cf. i. p. 239 *note* 3. At the same time for ארם in ver. 2, as the Arameans have not the remotest connexion with the meaning and the words of this

had invaded the south-eastern frontier of Judah, and had advanced as far as Engedi, on the western side of the Dead Sea, before Jehoshaphat received the news of the pressing danger, and could take the necessary measures for meeting it. With swift decision he collected his army at Jerusalem, while, even before his departure, a Levite named Jahaziel,[1] suddenly inspired during the solemn service in the temple, predicted for him a divine victory. Immediately around Engedi rise steep slopes and precipitous rocks. West of it, on the direct road to Jerusalem lies a broad tract of country, the southern part of which was then called the 'wilderness of Jeruel,' while the northern bore the name of the 'wilderness of Tekoa'[2] from the city south-east of Jerusalem which bounded it in this direction. The enemy had ascended the pass of Haziz and stood at the end of the mountain ridge facing the wilderness of Jeruel, while Jehoshaphat was hastily advancing through the wilderness of Tekoa, when the Moabites and Ammonites suddenly fancied themselves misled by the Idumeans (who are henceforth often designated as crafty). They fell upon them, and such a general massacre ensued that when Jehoshaphat with his army arrived at the spot, he gained a brilliant victory almost without any trouble, and was able to return with rich booty. It is not surprising that in Jehoshaphat's army this victory was ascribed to evil spirits, which were set by Jahveh to perplex the different forces of the enemy, and precipitate them into mutual slaughter;[3] and in like manner the Chronicler avails himself of this example to show what sort of preparations a pious but warlike king like Jehoshaphat ought to make for battle, and how heavenly powers may help him to victory.[4] But there is no reason to

narrative, we should read אֱדֹם; although even the LXX had the former reading.

[1] Of the four ancestors of this Jahaziel, mentioned in ver. 14, we know from 1 Chron. xxv. 16 that the first, Mattaniah, lived in David's time and belonged to the family of Asaph. As Jehoshaphat belongs to the fourth and fifth generation after David, all this agrees together, and supplies a proof of the historical credibility of this event.

[2] According to 2 Chron. xx. 2, 16, 20, cf. ver. 26. Local descriptions so exact as these the Chronicler must have derived from ancient sources; the explanation of the חצצון תמר by the name Engedi, which does not occur again, also points to an older source where the former name stood by itself. Perhaps the name הציץ, LXX Ἀσσείς, has been preserved in that of the modern Wadi Husâsah, which Robinson describes as leading down to the south-east from Tekoa (*Bibl. Res.* i. 527, ed. 1856); for that the ה should come from the article is by no means necessary.

[3] The מְאָרְבִים, 'liers in wait' [A.V. 'ambushments,'] which God, according to ver. 22, directed against the enemy, can only from the connexion be a sort of evil spirits, just as the name Satan itself possesses a similar meaning; ver. 23 contains the execution on earth of the heavenly preparations ver. 22.

[4] It is easy to see to what extent the whole narrative bears the marks of the Chronicler; but while it is only possible for a person who is wilfully blind to ignore the fact that the Jehoshaphat here described is quite a different person from the one depicted in 1 Kings xxii., 2 Kings

doubt that the narrative reposes on a historical basis. The valley in which the victory was won, subsequently went by the name of the 'valley of blessing;'[1] and when Joel, certainly scarcely half a century later, called the future field of judgment the 'valley of Jehoshaphat,' this designation of the scene of the grand triumph of the future, must have been suggested by some great victory of Jehoshaphat's.[2] We may further assume that this victory belonged to the beginning of Jehoshaphat's reign,[3] and led to the complete subjugation of Edom. For though Moab did did not assert its independence till after the death of Ahab, and had properly to contend not with Judah at all but with Israel; yet marauding expeditions from Moab and Ammon may even at this earlier date have united with the forces of Edom.

After Jehoshaphat had completely subdued Edom, it was important to him to resume from his harbour of Eziongeber[4] the voyages to Ophir, which had proved so profitable under Solomon. This he actually did towards the later years of his reign; but after he had constructed a fleet of large ships, which must certainly have been a work of great labour and expense (as the assistance of the Phœnicians is not mentioned), it was wrecked by storms ere it had left the harbour, partly perhaps through the carelessness of the sailors. Upon this, Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, who may, like his father, have been closely connected with the Phœnicians, offered to share in the cost and profit of the voyage. Jehoshaphat, however, would not consent; and the disasters which soon happened in the reign of his son Jehoram, finally put an end to such designs.[5]

In spite of the frustration of this undertaking, the prosperity

iii., it is on the other hand equally unfair to deny that the narrative has a historical basis. No comparison of the event narrated in 2 Kings iii. 23 sq. permits us to suppose that the Chronicler modelled his own account on the earlier narrative.

[1] 2 Chron. xx. 26. The valley probably lay east of the city Caphar Barucha and north-east of Hebron (see Reland's *Palestine*, p. 685), and the most recent travellers have found in the neighbourhood a Wâdi Berâikût.

[2] Joel iv. [iii.] 2, 12. The allusion to the meaning of the name Jehoshaphat, 'God judges,' first appears in Joel; it is by no means, however, to be assumed that the prophet could have chosen the name independently without any reason, or have understood it only figuratively. The designation of the valley east of the temple by the name of Jehoshaphat at the time of the Fathers (see the *Onomast.*) was probably a mere inference from Joel iii. 5 [ii. 32], iv. [iii.] 16; at any rate, we do not know from any other source that the valley had been called by the name of Jehoshaphat before Joel.

[3] The position of this narrative in the Chronicles might lead us to conjecture that the death of Ahab, 2 Chron. xviii. must have already taken place; but the Chronicler is evidently simply putting together detached narratives from his different sources, without supplying any proper dates.

[4] Vol. iii. p. 263.

[5] 1 Kings xxii. 49 [48] sq. The Chronicler, 2 Chron. xx. 35–37, who reprehends every approximation to the northern kingdom in the severest manner, represents the destruction of the ships as a divine penalty on the two kings for actually contracting an alliance for the purpose of the voyage. But there is no substantial reason for rejecting the definite and easily explicable statement of the older book, since the

of Judah was greater under Jehoshaphat than it had ever been since the time of Solomon. The Philistines once more brought gifts of allegiance, and the Arab tribes on the border which the subjugation of Edom had rendered defenceless, paid annual tribute from their flocks. The king built commercial cities as well as fortresses, and everywhere promoted vigorous trade.[1] A list of the population which has been preserved, shows that there were then in round numbers seven hundred and eighty thousand in Judah capable of bearing arms (i.e. no doubt originally male inhabitants), and three hundred and eighty thousand from Benjamin, reckoned according to the five districts into which the kingdom was then divided.[2]

II. Condition of the People and of Literature in Judah.

In the general condition of the people and of literature in Judah, we perceive during this period the fair after-glow of the kingdom of David. The heathen tendencies which had obscured its light during the last days of Solomon and the age of his successor, were paralysed during the very long reign of Asa and remained powerless under Jehoshaphat. Even the cutting off of those proud currents of energy which had streamed through the veins of the nation under Solomon, served to restore it once more to its originally limited but thoroughly sound condition. Under such manly kings as Asa and Jehoshaphat, the whole people glowed anew with the pure flame of perfect trust in all the spiritual blessings of the true community; and while the artistic activity of the age of David and Solomon continues to develop in the smaller kingdom with unchecked splendour as far as its straitened position allowed, the spirit of strong and simple religion seems once more to find a permanent resting-place in its heart, and to afford the best possible compensation for all the losses it has sustained.

The ascendancy of such a spirit in the people is proved by those writings which there is every reason to believe were produced in this century. But little, it is true, has been preserved; and this little is somewhat difficult to recognise, buried

words in ver. 37 placed by the Chronicler in the mouth of a prophet of the time belong by their style to the Chronicler himself alone.

[1] 2 Chron. xvii. 5, 11–13, xviii. 1.

[2] The representation in 2 Chron. xvii. 14–19 also belongs unmistakably to the Chronicler alone, but the ground of these statements is evidently historical, and they may be derived from the State-annals. Such statements from ancient sources of the male population may have guided the Chronicler elsewhere in estimating the military forces of the kingdom; cf. pp. 48, 50.

as it is in books which were only collected at a later date and have been re-arranged and much altered. Some fragments, however, still shine forth brightly enough.

Among the literary remains of this period are some of the finest songs. To this age belong the twenty-seventh and twenty-third Psalms,[1] which were composed by a king detained by the turmoils of war at a distance from Jerusalem, and thinking far away with infinite yearning of the holy calm of the temple. They are poems such as we might imagine the knightly and pious Asa to have composed in the sufferings and struggles in which he was so often plunged. The twentieth Psalm, again, dates from this period. Sung by priests and people at the solemn sacrifice of a king marching forth to war, it still bears one clear mark that the king can scarcely be any other than Asa.[2] On the other hand, the song in 1 Sam. ii. 1–10, in which a king pours forth his feelings after gaining a great victory, proceeds probably not from Asa or Jehoshaphat,[3] but from the founder of some new dynasty in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. All these songs still breathe the true spirit of the ancient religion, strong unshaken trust in Jahveh. This is principally shown in the greater matters of national interest, and the wars against the heathen; nor was it merely the rare flame of extraordinary exaltation, such as was sometimes swiftly kindled even in after days; it was rather the uniform temper of the whole life. As yet, the conflict of ideas and purposes in Judah had scarcely affected its own deepest life; and the then living Anointed of Jahveh was still universally regarded as the surest shield of the national well-being. As far as their contents are concerned, these songs are the direct and vigorous off-shoots of the Davidic stem; their art raises them for the most part above those of David, and in smoothness and elegance they bear more resemblance to that of Solomon already alluded to.[4]

[1] Only a closer consideration shows that Ps. xxvii. 7–12 is a separate song and belongs to a later age; the distance between vv. 1–6, 13 sq. and vv. 7–12 in language, style, thought, and date, is very great, while vv. 7–12 belong to Ps. v. and its connected songs, when the whole struggle of the people was turned inwards, and the faithful had to suffer most frightfully at the hands of their own brethren. Leaving out vv. 7–12, Ps. xxvii. like Ps. xxiii., which is in every respect similar to it, falls into two strophes of three long verses each, with the addition in this case of a concluding strophe; while Ps. xxvii. 7–12 is divided into two strophes of three ordinary verses each. Ps. xxvii. 7–12 is as unlike Ps. xxvii. 1–6, 13 sq., and Ps. xxiii. as they are like to one another; in such cases it is always best to desist from attempting to restore a forced connexion. Cf. further the 3rd ed. of the *Dichter des A. B. Psalmen*, p. 98 sq.

[2] Ps. xx. supposes a king without war chariots and horses, which Jehoshaphat, however, according to 1 Kings xxii. 4, 2 Kings iii. 7, possessed.—Further, such songs as Pss. vi., xii., xxx., xli., are probably of no later origin, as has been explained in the new edition of my work on the Psalms.

[3] Pp. 33 *note* 4, 43.

[4] Vol. iii. p. 281.

Of purely prophetic writings produced in this century, there are now no extant remains; although Judah also was then the scene of the active labours of some great prophets, and Joel, who flourished soon after, was certainly not the first author of works of this kind.—The splendid development, however, of historical composition, and the growing intensity with which it was pervaded by the prophetic spirit which exerted so powerful an influence upon the age, appear both in other forms and in the grand design of the work which we have designated the older or prophetic book of Kings, which is the basis of our present books of Kings. It was not, it is true, written till some time later, after the violent changes introduced by Jehu;[1] and it is consequently partly devoted to showing how all the dynasties of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes up to Jehu necessarily fell one after another, because, after attaining power, they all misused it. In its spirit, however, it belongs entirely to this century, and gives us the most vivid representation both of the strong feeling of the dignity and power of true royalty, and of the old prophetic spirit as it still lived in Elijah and Elisha. And at the same time it glows with the purity and strength of that artistic feeling which characterises the age, and which discloses its influence in narrative no less than in poetic style.

III. Formation of the Messianic Hope.—The New Danger of Judah.

1. The deeper sins, however, from which the kingdom suffered, could not be removed even by such kings as Asa and Jehoshaphat. While under Asa the kingdom, quite in the spirit of its ancient religion, made the strongest and most patient efforts to regain its former greatness, it never again became what it had been. By its side the kingdom of the Ten Tribes increased in strength under the guidance of the house of Omri. Of a supremacy over the foreign nations around the mountains of Judah but few fragments were left; of an imperial power like David's only the memory remained. Thus diminished, it was obviously only by great exertions that the whole kingdom could maintain itself erect, surrounded as it was by so many hostile nations who, after the fall of the Davidic power, looked upon it as an easy prey, and who hated either all true religion in general as it was established in Israel, or the particular form which it assumed in this remnant of a Davidic kingdom. In addition to this, there was a constant ferment

[1] Vol. i. p. 141 sqq.; that the author belonged to Judah, follows from indications such as 1 Kings xii. 19, 2 Kings iii. 14.

going on, at times more or less suppressed by wise sovereigns, yet radically impossible to extinguish, of that conflict between two opposite tendencies which might become either a vital stimulus or a deadly poison,[1] but which only revealed the more plainly the emptiness and helplessness of the present.

And yet this kingdom, though sunk so low, could neither forget its former glory under Moses and David, nor ever wholly lose the consciousness of its unique higher destiny. On the other hand, this feeling could not but be intensified and excited to greater ardour with every blow to its human pride which followed the disruption of the Davidic kingdom, and drove at least all the deeper minds to grasp with a firmer hold its eternal elements alone. The result was that in this confined and narrow atmosphere there germinated unobserved an expectation and a hope, the absolute truth and necessity of which prevented it, when it had once been clearly conceived and uttered, from ever being lost until it was fulfilled, and rendered it to an increasing extent the better life latent in the whole subsequent history. This was the hope that the Theocracy, which had long existed in Israel and under Moses and David had reigned on earth with no little power, should yet assuredly be perfected, whatever disturbances and hindrances might then impede its course. So far as the Theocracy can only be conceived of as the rule of the true religion, the consummation of the former is identical with the perfection of the latter, and implies also that of its fruit, viz. divine salvation through the complete sovereignty of justice; and the violence now exercised by hindrances and disturbances only produced in addition the hope of the certain advent of one great all-decisive judgment day. Springing from such a soil for the first time, its form is exceedingly simple, and is directed solely to its great object. It does not yet ask how man shall best realise it or what man shall do so; it is not, therefore, as yet that definite Messianic hope which it subsequently becomes; it simply perceives that in their present condition men are incapable of realising it, and it consequently represents Jahveh who first founded the Theocracy as the only sure author of its future consummation, and a new and unprecedented revival of the divine spirit in Israel as the means. Starting, however, from the actual wants and sufferings of the present, it demands that in the first place the house of David shall be restored, foresees that this cannot be done without war, but, following the prompting of true religion, regards divine peace

[1] P. 15 sq.

alone as final and abiding, and then beholds all nations of the earth in peaceful emulation approaching Jerusalem, to learn there the sway and the blessing of true religion in its perfect form. The imperishable blessing of the rule of real monarchy, and its seat in the house of David, to which the government when perfected must, therefore, return, formed the second and equally deep foundation for this hope. Only in Judah could it arise; for there alone had the uniform development of the deepest and eternal elements in Israel escaped being broken up as it had been in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes; and it was in the continuance of that noblest and immortal life of Israel that it had its root. In Judah, however, it necessarily sprang up from the trembling soil of this age, as soon as the disruption of the Davidic kingdom (as has been already shown) threatened the inmost life of Israel as the nation of the true religion, for which there were now but two alternatives open; either it must pass away from the earth altogether, or with fresh power and resolve it must rise to perfection, even though it could at first only do so in hope and thought and longing. It is, therefore, a matter of comparative indifference by whom this hope was first definitively expressed in Judah. In the time of Joel, who flourished towards the close of this period, it had been already long enunciated by great prophets;[1] and it was certainly in the very beginning of this age that it made itself most forcibly felt.

There was plainly one subject of great and immediate importance which would gather round itself with increasing strength the Messanic hope. The foreign nations which David and Solomon had united with their kingdom, all revolted in this first century; and in spite of all the subsequent victories which the princes of both kingdoms from time to time achieved over them, they were never again permanently subdued. But this further destroyed that foundation of an imperial dominion which the two great kings had not only apparently but actually[2] laid. An imperial dominion on the part of Israel, however, could not be anything else than the dominion of the true religion and of the community which embodied it over the world. If it be asked what was the ultimate motive which drove those nations so persistently and unanimously to revolt, it does not seem that it was the desire to escape from any special severity or injustice in the supremacy of Israel. We have no ground for such an assumption, and all the evidence leads to an opposite conclusion.

[1] According to Joel iii. 5 [ii. 32], and the general style of the language which we still possess of his; of the oldest Messianic prophecy besides Joel's we find 1 Kings xi. 39.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 202 sq.

Israel had certainly not then learned that method of converting the heathen which it first began to practise towards the end of its history; and it was to be expected that what David had subdued by the sword should be lost in the same manner. The most powerful incentive, however, to the heathen nations to revolt was evidently their love for that wild freedom of life and absence of restraint which are more compatible with heathenism than with the true religion, and which they were not willing to lose by a permanent connexion with Israel. Two causes, therefore, especially contributed early to develop the Messianic hope in this direction—the fact that the growing struggle between foreign nations and Israel was really a struggle between heathenism and true religion, and the vivid memory which every state of the better kind retains of the dignity and destiny which it has once enjoyed. Even the prophets of the northern kingdom very early pursue with the utmost anxiety the destinies of foreign nations revolted or otherwise, ever intent to discern how the true God whom they reject may reveal himself to them also;[1] while those of Judah look to the restoration of the victorious empire of David as the first stage of the general Messianic consummation.[2]

2. Real life, however, can never subsist on hope alone, especially where it is still so completely in its infancy as the Messianic hope was at that time in Judah. Acutely conscious of the pressing evils of the time, Jehoshaphat formed the resolution of terminating the useless wars between the sister states by an alliance advantageous to both, and thus stopping one source of urgent danger. He accordingly kept up a most sincere and active friendship with the kings of the house of Omri, and often joined them in military expeditions. Now that each kingdom recognised its inability to overpower the other, the old hostilities seemed at length to give way for ever to a far more beneficial peace. But the deep-seated antagonism between the two could not be removed by the mere will of the rulers, even though they had always been as good as Jehoshaphat, which was by no means the case. The alliance involuntarily afforded the very divergent heathen tendencies of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes an entrance into Judah also, where there was always a party favourable to them,[3] although it had been latterly kept down. While Jehoshaphat even availed himself of a marriage to unite his son and successor Jehoram still

[1] The oldest expressions of this sort are preserved in Is. xv. 1–9, xvi. 7–12, xxi. 11–14.

[2] Amos ix. 11 sq.; Zech. ix. 13–16; Is. xi. 13–16; Mic. v. 4–8.

[3] P. 15 sq.

more closely with the house of Ahab, he certainly did not anticipate what disaster this daughter of Ahab, Athaliah,[1] would bring upon his house. Contrary to all human expectation, this suddenly results in a wholly new danger, threatening the very existence of Judah. The history of the royal line of Judah is from henceforth linked more and more closely with that of the house of Omri; and soon enough after Jehoshaphat's death the one is swept away in the frightful ruin which overtook the other. In order, however, to understand the great revolution which concludes the first era of the history of the two kingdoms, we must first examine the development of the other independent power which operated with the greatest effect by the side of the crown,—viz. the prophetic. To this therefore, and especially to the labours of the greatest prophet of this century, and indeed of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes generally, we must now turn our attention.

C. THE LABOURS OF ELIJAH AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

In dealing with the labours of Elijah as well as with those of his successor Elisha, the stream of extant records of those centuries, at other times so narrowly hemmed in, suddenly spreads out; and the most marvellous forms rise before our eyes as though from some mysterious abyss. And our wonder at the appearance of Elijah in particular, increases in proportion to the abruptness which, in the extant historical work, marks the opening of the whole narrative of the career of this hero; so that his first entry within the province of the history seems almost as unique and inexplicable as his final disappearance.

It is really impossible to have any doubt of the extraordinary nature of the prophetic career of Elijah. It is exhibited sufficiently forcibly in the whole course of the history; for it was he and he alone, with no other instrument than the simple power of his spirit and his speech, who achieved no less a marvel than a complete revolution of the existing condition of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. Had he not produced the most extraordinary effect, and had not his contemporaries at the same time experienced and acknowledged in him the activity of a marvellous power, none of the extant stories about him would have arisen, and the recollections of his career would not have preserved the entirely peculiar colouring in which they are now

[1] Or *Gotholia*, according to the Hellenistic spelling. She is called Omri's daughter, 2 Kings viii. 26; this statement, however, is to be qualified by vv. 18, 27, as well as by the facts themselves and thus affords an instructive example for similar cases.

immortalised. Moreover, however grand much that is related of him may be, no narrative can supply anything but a feeble picture of the original grandeur and the all-conquering power of the greatest prophetic hero of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes; if only because it can place nothing before us but single acts, and only few of these, from which we have to reason backwards to gain any general idea of his real work. His successor Elisha was, it is equally certain, a great and influential prophet; but in all recollections he appears to occupy a lower position than his master, although even more particulars have been preserved of his career than of Elijah's. All that we can do, therefore, is to reproduce as correctly as possible from every historical trace the peculiar grandeur and the real power of these prophet-heroes.

I. Elijah and his Age.

1. Elijah came from Tishbeh,[1] a place about which we know nothing except that it was situated in Gilead. He belonged, therefore, to a district which from an early period[2] shared deeply in the sufferings of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. We see him throughout regarding the kingdom of the Ten Tribes alone as the field of his activity. For him Israel is comprised in this: and, so far as he is described to us, Judah never enters into his thoughts. This characteristic, moreover, marks him as an early prophet, and differentiates him from those of his successors, who, like Hosea, had been compelled to give up all hope for this kingdom.

Never since the age of Samuel had there been any deficiency of prophets among the people of Israel; and there are many signs that in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes their number increased in the first place with the increasing need to which the very origin of the kingdom had given rise, viz. of the most powerful prophetic cooperation, and still further, in proportion to the vigour with which the growing tyranny of the kings at once exited and constrained the activity of the prophets.

[1] According to the present punctuation, 1 Kings xvii. 1, he would have been a mere sojourner in Gilead, and consequently not of the blood of Israel: but we should probably read here with the LXX מִתִּשְׁבֵי 'from Tishbeh in Gilead;' Fl. Josephus also places his native town in that locality. Another Tishbeh lay, it seems, in Galilee, if we are to read thus in Tobit i. 2, and not accept the other reading Θισβή; and in order to avoid confounding Tishbeh of Gilead with this, and at the same time to explain Elijah's surname תִּשְׁבִּי, to this word are added the two others מִתֹּשְׁבֵי גִלְעָד. It is, moreover, doubtful whether תשבי could be written for תּוֹשָׁבִי. The full name of the prophet is Elijahu, which appears accordingly in the LXX with the only too brief spelling Ἠλίου.

[2] Pp. 34 sq., 38.

Thus, on important occasions, for example, when a military expedition was to be resolved upon, several hundred prophets would assemble in Samaria, all ready to disclose their anticipations about the hidden future.[1] So far as the labours of these prophets were confined to the kingdom—now long established—of the Ten Tribes, in which[2] Jahveh was worshipped under the form of an image, the majority of them certainly stood in no strong opposition to this image-worship, but tolerated it among the people, much in the same way as we see even the better informed in the Romish Church tolerate it at the present day. There is not the least evidence that Elijah and his school ever contended against this image-worship with any of the energy which Hosea subsequently displayed. The contrary, indeed, appears to be the case at the time when this school attains its final object, namely, the new establishment of the constitution by Jehu.[3] There were, of course, differences, which developed themselves among these numerous prophets of Jahveh at an early period. There were hundreds who were charged with speaking simply to please the reigning king; very few had an unimpeachable reputation for uttering the truth;[4] and while in the kingdom of Judah the growing degeneration of prophetism—till it sank for the most part into a mere trade—was not fully apparent till a later age, in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, where everything advanced with greater rapidity on the path of decline and fall, its deterioration appeared only too plainly in the very first century of its existence.

The earliest years, however, of the reign of Ahab were further marked by the royal tendency, which had indeed been already displayed by Omri, to favour heathenism; and priests and prophets of Baal were appointed in crowds. This could not fail to occasion in this kingdom still more than in Judah, as has been already pointed out, the most violent religious convulsions. The prophets of Jahveh, formerly divided among themselves, were obliged suddenly to combine against the orders and intentions of the crown; and scarcely had a few years of Ahab's reign elapsed, when the contest caused so

[1] Cf. the instructive description 1 Kings xxii. 5–28. Nothing can afford us more knowledge of the general condition of that age in this respect than this narrative, which is evidently derived from an ancient source.

[2] P. 26 sqq.

[3] 2 Kings x. 31; the form is due to the Deuteronomic author, but the fact which is being dealt with is purely historical. That Elijah was himself favourable to the image-worship is nowhere even remotely asserted; it is evident, on the contrary, from 1 Kings xviii. 30–38, that he was always represented as not needing the image. But it is asserted that in his time it was not a subject of contention in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes.

[4] 1 Kings xxii. 8–14, 19–23.

much confusion that he was induced by his wife Jezebel to issue orders for the violent destruction of all the prophets of Jahveh.[1] This measure involved all the more danger to the continued existence of the ancient religion in this kingdom, inasmuch as after the expulsion of the Levites it was in the prophets that its only firm support was found, and hence with the destruction of the prophets was combined also the demolition of the altars of Jahveh. This royal order probably encountered among the faithful a considerable amount of resistance, more or less quiet or open. We hear of a very eminent court-officer, the royal house-steward, Obadiah, concealing a hundred of the prophets in two caves, fifty in each, and supplying them there continually with means of sustenance.[2] But there was only one who in this deepest extremity resisted the king with the most astonishing power, and the most unexpected success; and resisted him not with outward weapons, but with that single weapon which, if it once operates, is the most irresistible—the sword of the spirit: and this one was the prophet Elijah. In the midst of the severest persecution, when all the faint-hearted bowed in submission or crept into concealment, he alone was found freely and openly to step forth for the advocacy of Him 'before whom he stood,'[3] i.e. whom he served immediately, who alone had the right to command him, and whose word and command he was bound to maintain against all men without distinction. His speech and action were the same before all the people as before the court and king; and when they wanted to seize and take him prisoner, he was never to be found, he was already borne away by the spirit as by a strong wind into some cavern or ravine, or to another kingdom and far distant land, where none could follow him.[4] No sooner, however, did they deem him lost than he showed himself everywhere again, as though brought back by the storm, with his power and tongue of fire, ever the same intrepid advocate of the true God and

[1] This important fact is now only casually alluded to, 1 Kings xviii. 4, 13, 22, xix. 10, 14, 2 Kings ix. 7; cf. 2 Kings iii. 13.

[2] This likewise is mentioned only incidentally, 1 Kings xviii. 4. 13. The LXX everywhere pronounce this name more briefly Ἀβδίας.

[3] This expression is characteristic of Elijah and Elisha, 1 Kings xvii. 1, xviii. 15, 2 Kings iii. 14, v. 16; it is as peculiar to them as another utterance was to Moses (ii. p. 164), but it entirely disappears after their age from prophetic speech; and it needs but little reflection to perceive what a profound consciousness, but, at the same time, what an enormous claim was involved in it.

[4] This is one of the best established and most important traits in the reminiscence of Elijah's life: and the consideration of scattered but indestructible recollections like these is especially needful if we wish to draw a somewhat fuller picture of his real character. 1 Kings xviii. 10–12, 2 Kings ii. 16–18, comp. with descriptions like 1 Kings xviii. 46, xix. 3, 8. On the other hand, in Elisha's history this feature does not appear.

bold assailant of the worshippers and priests of the heathen deities.[1] So severe a persecution, threatening the whole ancient religion with actual annihilation, had never been set on foot by any member of the ancient community, still less by him to whom it might have most looked for protection, viz. the king; but, on the other hand, never had a single individual exhibited simply by the spirit such astounding and invincible energy in resistance against it; and when the king addresses him as 'his enemy' and 'the agitator of Israel,' he might well reply that it was rather he himself who had agitated Israel by favouring heathenism.[2] What prodigies may be achieved even by one single man, however feeble in himself, through the invisible power of the Infinite conferred upon him by God, and how he may be enabled by this means to offer a solitary resistance to the violent error of a whole age, and to introduce in triumph a new era freed from its sway,—of all this, one of the loftiest examples is exhibited by Elijah; and the fact that just at that period he victoriously preserved his courage unshaken through all vicissitudes, wins for him his peculiar place in Israel's history, and constitutes his eternal merit. For it is certainly undeniable that a large share of the heroic power which Elijah exerted in the long and hot contest, as well as his justification for contending at all, was supplied by the ancient religion. Only a religion which contained a truth so pure and also by that time so well tested, could inspire its advocate, when destitute of all outward weapons, with such unequalled and finally triumphant power. But an internal struggle directed, as this was, against heathenism which had the support of the whole royal authority, was at that time too new and too difficult a matter in the ancient community for the whole people to be able to deal with it. It was necessary that some one individual, endowed with supreme energy, should first sustain the contest on behalf of all; and Elijah accordingly effected, for the first time, and in the most forcible manner, what his example gradually taught the whole nation to achieve upon the path originally laid down by him. It is this which constitutes the true and lofty significance of Elijah's career. He attains the sublime altitude of Samuel, not like his great predecessor in contest with the human monarchy which had yet to be placed on a firmer basis, but in a struggle of a very different character against heathenism, whose only protection lay in a monarchy

[1] This follows naturally from the converse, and is further confirmed by such descriptions as 1 Kings xviii. 1, 7 sqq., 46, xix. 15–18.

[2] 1 Kings xviii. 17 sq., xxi. 20.

already degenerate; nay, he even manifests the heroic greatness of Moses, not, however (and this makes a very important difference), as founder of a new institution, in which capacity he cannot be compared even with Samuel, but only as the champion of an old organisation. Elijah furnishes, accordingly, the first striking proof of the truth that even the most powerful and creative minds of the age were yet incapable of originating anything essentially new. And thus it is evident that the course of the creative energy of religion among the ancient people had already by that time, so far as concerned the nation and the kingdom, reached its culmination and commenced its decline, because the time was not yet ripe for the advent of that great New dispensation which was destined to appear as the completion of the Old.

Among the consequences to Elijah of the novelty and severity of this struggle with the full power of the monarchy, was his habit of retiring into the most impassable wastes, or the most retired highlands of the country. The community at large was originally the sphere of the action of a prophet of Jahveh. Elijah, however, when he is not lingering beyond the limits of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes in Sidonian Zarephath, or in some other foreign resting-place, withdraws to the many glens and heights of Carmel on the shores of the Mediterranean, or to some other hills, or into the wilderness, where he may be beyond the reach of the king's hand. There is his proper home; but, whenever it is needful, he comes down swift as lightning into the busy haunts of men, and takes whom he will by surprise.[1] 'Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?' are the words of the astonished Ahab; 'I have found thee,' replies Elijah, meeting him with certainty.[2] But it was Carmel especially, a retired spot, that had, perhaps, never before been made the resting-place of prophets, which, through him, became a sacred prophetic locality, and retained this sanctity for a considerable time after him. His outward appearance was simple in the extreme, but at that time quite peculiar to himself; his head was covered with long hair; his loins with a girdle of skin, over which he would throw a mantle of hair. This mantle, the only thing he had loose to use, soon came to be looked upon as the visible instrument of his marvellous spirit and of the giant power with which he overcame all obstacles.[3]

[1] Carmel is named 1 Kings xviii. 19, as in Elisha's history 2 Kings ii. 25, iv. 25. On the other hand the narrative 2 Kings i. 2–16 simply mentions a mountain, less definitely. Instances of his retirement into the wilderness are found 1 Kings xvii. 2–6, xix. 3–8.

[2] 1 Kings xxi. 20.

[3] The mantle is brought into special prominence by the narrator of the passages

The triumph of Elijah, however, within the limits thus imposed upon him, after a long and vehement struggle of this kind, could not be a matter of doubt. So far as we know, he did not employ the written word; it still appears an agency unused by any of these prophets; but in his direct action on life he produced all the more rapidly the most wonderful effects. At the most critical moment he burst through the nation's cowardly fear of the false claims of the monarchy, and trained it in spite of all its troubles once more to put its trust alike in the truth and power of Jahveh. How much had he not already won when he could address to the people his two-edged word, 'How long will ye go lame upon both knee-joints?' that is, continue to waver backwards and forwards unsteadily between truth and falsehood, Jahveh and Baal.[1] With increasing attention did the people listen to his voice, and trust in his guidance; and even the boundaries of the kingdom could not confine the fame or the influence of his power, and the good which he was able to effect.[2] Thus, outlaw though he was, he might yet venture without hindrance, as though he were under the protection of a higher sanctity, to appear again before Ahab himself, and in the name of Him 'before whom he stood,' announce to him the truth. But when, in his resistance against Ahab, the inward triumph was thus actually secured to him, the least shock might easily be the occasion of a complete and decisive victory. This crisis is said by the principal narrative of the prophet's life to have been brought on by one of those lasting and widespread national calamities, which from time to time recur in those countries,—always, however, with the effect of violently arousing the inhabitants from their ordinary pursuits, and bringing to a head certain resolutions which would else be difficult to carry out,—and which in remote antiquity laid upon man a peculiarly heavy and mysterious burden.[3] When the country was bowed down in the deepest sufferings of a drought of some years' duration, Ahab at length himself recalled Elijah, in order to entreat his powerful intercession. By this very act he was obliged to abandon altogether the course which he had

1 Kings xvii.–xix., 2 Kings ii. 1–18, which belong together. On the other hand, the hair and the girdle are noticed in the passage which, to judge from all appearances, proceeds from another narrator, 2 Kings i. 8.

[1] This expression also, 1 Kings xviii. 21, is certainly a genuine one of the time of Elijah; on the word סְעִפִּים, which is generally very feebly, and, besides that, improperly translated 'parties' [A. V. 'opinions'], see my *Lehrb.* p. 451.

[2] According to 1 Kings xviii. 10, comp. with xix. 15, 2 Kings v. 1–19, viii. 7–15.

[3] With this should be compared the whole of the book of Joel, as well as the expressions that are also relatively of very great antiquity, Amos iv. 6–11. Quite independently of the O. T., Menander (in Jos. *Ant.* viii. 13. 2) gives an account of a severe drought lasting a year under the Tyrian king Ithobal, Ahab's contemporary.

hitherto pursued in religious matters, his persecution of the prophets of Jahveh, and his partiality to the priests of heathenism. The truth was triumphantly established that no human authority might arbitrarily change still less corrupt religion.

A victory was thus achieved of greater importance and advantage than any other which was possible at that era. The true religion had successfully maintained itself against the overwhelming dangers with which it was threatened from the monarchy, which had long gained strength in the midst of the community. To both the kingdoms of that age this proved a lasting gain; while to the kingdom of the Ten Tribes which was already rapidly on the road towards complete dissolution, the possibility was thereby opened of expelling its foreign elements, and re-establishing itself anew from its foundations with increased strength. It is Elijah who, by the direct results of his marvellous activity, brings on the conclusion of the first half of the history of this kingdom, and commences the second which turned out so different.

If, however, the immediate consequences of the victory were not altogether pleasant, nay, for the most part, were even less so than the actual struggle and the triumph, the cause of this must be sought in the general position of the age, and of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes in particular. In this kingdom two powers, most violently opposed, Jahveism and heathenism, prophetism and monarchy, had come into the severest collision with one another. Not even an Elijah knew at that time of any mode of reconciling them by a higher truth; so that even the double victory won by this great hero carried within it the germ, not of blessings only, but also of fresh corruptions. Jahveism, now triumphant, sought to annihilate heathenism by main force; the narrative itself does not hesitate to ascribe to Elijah the order for the execution of the four hundred convicted priests of Baal.[1] It was not thus, however, that heathenism and the inclination to it could be really extirpated. A similar concession had now, it is true, been made by the monarchy, but unwillingly; and on its part, at any rate, a proper cheerful cooperation was the more impossible, because of the entire difference of the principles from which the house of Omri had started. The internal welfare and the external authority of the kingdom necessarily suffered more and more under these antagonisms of every kind, which proved permanently irreconcilable; and though the kingdom continued tolerably

[1] 1 Kings xviii. 40, xix. 1; cf. 2 Kings i. 10–14 as well as such stories of Elisha as 2 Kings ii. 23–25, ix.

prosperous during the lives of Ahab and Elijah, who now understood each other perfectly well, yet, under their successors on either side, everything might easily be thrown again into a still more hopeless confusion, and hasten towards that violent and melancholy termination which already lay concealed in all these entanglements.

2. The last years of Ahab's reign, after the restoration of Elijah and the other prophets of Jahveh to undisturbed activity, were occupied with campaigns against the Arameans and in erecting new buildings in Jezreel, in which this king[1] took so much pleasure. With his passion for these buildings at Jezreel is connected the grave injustice against Naboth, into which the king was seduced by Jezebel; and since the first Deuteronomic narrator brings this crime prominently forward as the final turning-point of the history of Ahab and his house,[2] he gives, for the most part from older sources, the following representation of the concluding years of Ahab's reign.

The reigning sovereign of Damascus was Benhadad, the son of that Benhadad[3] under whom the Aramean kingdom[4] had attained such power. He himself continued to enjoy the same sway; but the vast resources he inherited made him more imprudent, and at length he became, in consequence, more and more unfortunate. At the head of thirty-two tributary kings, with a very numerous army, he had, on one occasion, attacked Samaria with such violence that Ahab consented to cede to him all his personal property, even his wives and his children, if he wished to carry them away as hostages. Excited to greater insolence by such compliance, he then demanded that Ahab should allow him also to plunder the houses of all the officers of his court. But the council of elders before whom Ahab laid these conditions, advised him to treat with defiance so insulting a proposal; and when Benhadad added the further threat that soon the dust of all the ruins of Samaria would be insufficient to fill the hands of his innumerable soldiers, when they should

[1] According to p. 39.

[2] 1 Kings xx. 1–xxii. 18. In this passage older written sources have been reproduced in part word for word, but the present form of the whole cannot be earlier than the elder Deuteronomic narrator. This is clear from the style of the language and some very strong similarities between this passage and 1 Kings xiii. (on which see p. 31 sq.); cf. especially xx. 36 with xiii. 24; xx. 35 with xiii. 2, 5, 9, 17 sq. The words xx. 25 sq. are added by the latest author.

[3] This is only a probable conclusion from xx. 34. It is not asserted in so many words, and it was certainly unusual in antiquity for the son to bear the same name as his father. As, however, Benhadad (son of the god Hadad) appears rather to be a general name of Aramean kings, and Hazael's son is again called Benhadad 2 Kings xiii. 3, this objection has no great weight. Josephus abbreviates the name into Hadad, and confuses it (*Ant.* ix. 4. 6) with the god Hadad still worshipped in his time at Damascus.

[4] P. 34.

march back again after its destruction,[1] Ahab, supported by his people, repelled such menaces with becoming dignity. In the middle of the noon-day heat, while Benhadad with his thirty-two kings was carousing in his pavilion in the camp, and had contented himself with giving his army general orders for attack, Ahab, encouraged by a prophet of Jahveh, at once despatched two hundred and thirty-two squires of the provincial governors who had taken refuge in Samaria, against the enemies' camp. They carried on the attack with such success,[2] that Benhadad, who was completely taken by surprise, was only enabled to escape with the aid of some cavalry. Meanwhile Ahab marched out himself at the head of seven thousand men, who, at other times, remained in Samaria ready for battle, and won a complete victory over the horses and chariots and other military forces of the Arameans. But a short time before, the drunken king, on the first intelligence of the advance of the little band of two hundred and thirty-two youths, had given orders that whether they came with peaceful or with hostile purpose, they should be taken alive and executed; but now this year had seen the last of his insolence as of his war, while the prophet who had promised victory to Ahab, recommended him to be the more upon his guard against the coming year. The next year Benhadad was advised by his courtiers to invade Israel with an army as large as his former one, and equally well equipped with cavalry and chariots, but to gain a victory by fighting nowhere but in the open plain, under the foolish delusion that the God of Israel was only a God of the mountains; at the same time he replaced the thirty-two vassal princes in command of their armies by simple lieutenants, who would be obliged, when on service, to yield a stricter obedience.[3] Accordingly he encamped in Aphek,[4] in the same plain in which the Philistines had upon one occasion posted themselves against Saul,[5] while the Israelites occupied a position high up on the hills to the south, looking from below like two flock of goats pasturing on high mountains.[6] For seven days the armies

[1] The same sort of boasting as that in 2 Sam. xvii. 13; cf. iii. p. 183.

[2] In 1 Kings xx. 20 the words וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ אִישׁ אִישׁ should be added, according to the LXX, after אִישׁ, so that the meaning of the whole is 'they slew repeatedly each one his man,' and thus the same sort of combat and victory is described as in the case of Jonathan, iii. p. 33. Cf., further, 2 Kings xiv. 20.

[3] That this is the meaning of xx. 24 is clear from xxii. 31.

[4] Its situation is certainly no further indicated in 1 Kings xx. 26; but it is obvious from the whole context that it lay in a plain which all the circumstances prove to have been the great Galilean plain north of Jezreel, for the rest of the northern territory was easily subdued by Benhadad as on a former occasion.

[5] Vol. iii. p. 103.

[6] The image is clearly intended only to describe the lofty position of the camp. But why are two mentioned? Is it be-

remained opposite each other without moving; but Israel, encouraged by the prophetic promise that its God would not be only a God of the mountains, won a complete victory on their first engagement. One hundred thousand of the enemy were left upon the field of battle, and when the remainder retired behind the walls of Aphek, the town was soon taken, and the surviving twenty-seven thousand were buried in its ruins. Surrounded by a small number of faithful adherents, Benhadad fled from one hiding-place in the conquered city to another; and his followers had no better advice to give him than that he should throw himself on the well-known clemency of the kings of Israel. Accordingly they advanced to meet Ahab in deep mourning, and with fawning words petitioned for his life. Ahab was flattered by the humble entreaty of his foe; and while the Syrian courtiers quickly availed themselves of his favourable disposition to obtain his word of honour for the safety of their master,[1] Benhadad came forth from his concealment, and was received with honour by Ahab, who concluded peace with him on the conditions of his resigning all his father's conquests,[2] and further conceding to him fortified quarters for Israel in his capital Damascus.[3]—Very different was this treatment of Benhadad, who, a few years before, had so long and severely oppressed the community of God, from that which had been looked for at Ahab's hands by many a prophet who could not yet forget the sternness of the ancient community towards such conquered heathens. And indeed, simply on the ground of ordinary judgment, many a clear eye could perceive how unfounded was Ahab's hope of good faith on the part of such an enemy. The result actually proved what they expected. Benhadad did not observe the conditions of peace, e.g. he would not surrender the town of Ramoth in Gilead, the war for the recovery of which, three years later, proved fatal to Ahab himself. One of the prophets of that time—it may have been the same who had encouraged Ahab to victory—was immediately seized with this gloomy presentiment, which acquired in his mind irresistible force. He desired one of his fellow-prophets, as though in the name of Jahveh himself, to smite him

cause Jehoshaphat with the men of Judah formed an auxiliary force? Yet the narrative says nothing about it. Probably this number explains the meaning of the dual מִשְׁפְּתַיִם.

[1] According to the LXX, instead of וַיְמַהֲרוּ, ver. 33, we should read וַיְחַטְּפוּ מִ, 'they hastily drew or tore from him the word to themselves, appropriated it to themselves.' The meaning cannot be 'they inquired or assured themselves *whether* it was from him, whether he really spoke thus;' the context is against such an interpretation.

[2] P. 38.

[3] Ibid.

so as to draw blood. The man would not; but was (so it is related) soon slain, on his journey, by a lion, for having refused, though a prophet, to listen to the word of Jahveh.[1] Another, however, did not refuse to wound him; and as though he had acquired a right because of a bloody injury he had sustained to invoke the king's aid, he threw himself in the road before Ahab, having first disguised himself by wrapping a cloth round his head, and related how, as a common soldier, he had been entrusted with the custody of a prisoner of war by a captain,[2] with the understanding that he must be security for him with his life, or pay a talent of silver as compensation; but while he had turned round only a few moments to look another way,[3] the man had escaped, and he (from inability to pay the exorbitant sum demanded as an indemnity) had been thus bloodily wounded, and run the risk of losing his life. On the king's declaring, as he expected, that he could not help him, he swiftly made himself known as a prophet: 'it was not he, but the king who had thus acted, in letting him escape whom Jahveh had proscribed; and, therefore, he and his people would have to bear the bloody penalty which ought properly to have fallen upon the vanquished Syrian.' And with a heavy heart, Ahab returned home.

He was made still more angry some time after,[4] on meeting with an unexpected resistance to his wishes from Naboth, a citizen of the town of Jezreel, which lay in the fine broad plains of southern Galilee. Ahab desired to round off his own beautiful domains in Jezreel by adding the vineyard of Naboth, which adjoined his own palace; but nothing could induce him to part with it for an equivalent sum of money. This was one of those cases where the old Mosaic right[5] came into violent collision with the aspirations of the more modern age; for in accordance with their ancient custom Naboth might

[1] This is only a sign how deeply rooted the belief was that no consideration would justify the prophet in resisting the word of Jahveh; cf. above, p. 31 sq. (where a lion is mentioned just in the same way), and my *Propheten des A. B.* i. p. 30 [Eng. Trans. i. p. 39].

[2] Whom he as a common soldier must therefore obey. The word סָר stands in this passage, which was as unintelligible even to the LXX as to the Masora, for שָׂר, just as in the passage explained iii. p. 75 *note* 5. The combination אִישׁ שָׂר is like אִישׁ נָבִיא, Judges vi. 8.

[3] The word עָשָׂה must have had the same meaning as עָטָה, or further עָטַף, عطف, to bend, to bow (then to seize, to take, اعطى); this may be proved from 1 Sam. xiv. 32, and Job xxiii. 9, as well as from this expression. The word יָד, ver. 42, is an abbreviated expression as in 1 Sam. xxvi. 23.

[4] The LXX, it is true, place the narrative in c. xxi. before c. xx. so does Josephus. But the transposition was only made to connect more closely together the similar narratives in cc. xx., xxii.; and, on the other hand, those in cc. xvii.–xix., and xxi. The expression xxi. 4 is much rather to be treated as a climax upon xx. 43, and perceptibly refers to the latter passage.

[5] See the *Alterthümer*, p. 201 sqq.

feel himself inwardly bound not to alienate 'the inheritance of his fathers,' while the king, in offering him full compensation, did not seem to be making any unjust demand. It was not, then, wonderful, and it was at any rate human nature, that in his indignation at the obstinacy of a single citizen, he should allow himself to be induced by the proud Jezebel to issue orders to the community of Jezreel to bring against their fellow-citizen an accusation of high treason.[1] The community of Jezreel, too dependent on the court which annually resided in its midst, acted on the suggestion, had Naboth stoned, and, carrying on the old custom of slaying the children with the guilty father,[2] put his sons to death also, who must otherwise have inherited the vineyard. But when Ahab took possession of the property of the unfortunate man who had thus fallen under a charge of high treason, he was met by Elijah, whom none could refuse to see. Elijah was very ill received by the king, but nevertheless announced to him the divine retribution for his crime, nor did he spare Jezebel. Upon this (so the narrator concludes his account of this event, which appeared to him to be the turning point of the destinies of the house of Omri) Ahab actually displayed signs of profound repentance, so that the prophet received a further divine utterance, to the effect that the condign punishment of the annihilation of the whole house of Ahab would not be carried out in its full severity until the reign of one of his sons.[3]

In the course of time, however, it became clear that the Aramean monarch did not observe the conditions of peace sufficiently stringently; and, after three years had elapsed, Ahab concerted with Jehoshaphat, who was then on a visit at his court, a campaign against Ramoth in Gilead,[4] which Benhadad, contrary to his engagements, refused to surrender. While the preparations for the expedition were being zealously pushed forward, the two kings one day, in full panoply,[5] took their seats

[1] I.e., according to iii. p. 6, of reviling God and the king.

[2] This is referred to in 2 Kings ix. 26, but is here understood as a matter of course.

[3] That the whole narrative is genuinely historical independently of its present form, follows with certainty from the manner in which the older narrator in 2 Kings ix. everywhere refers to it.

[4] Whether this town is identical with the present *el-Salt*, as modern investigators assume, is extremely doubtful; as the name Gilead may be employed here in a wider sense. It would be better to refer to the present Reimun farther to the north-east of el-Salt, as the name is similar, and the situation offers no objection.

[5] The context certainly shows that the word in the place of בנרן, xxii. 10, can have no other meaning than armour, even if we should have to read בְּגָשֵׁק; and perhaps this was actually the reading of the LXX in this passage, cf. 2 Kings x. 2; although the Chronicler, 2 Chron. xviii. 9, read the other. The word ܨܝܢܐ in the Peshito, which has been quite misunderstood in the Polyglott, is merely a corrupt reading for ܨܒܝܢ.

upon their thrones before one of the gates of Samaria, where they intended to review the troops. Here all the ordinary prophets of Jahveh, to the number of about four hundred, assembled before them, and announced to them that their campaign would be crowned with success: among the loudest on this occasion was Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah. Jehoshaphat, however, had not implicit confidence in these prophets, and asked whether there were no other, who had not yet appeared. Ahab replied that there was still Micaiah, the son of Imlah, but he did not wish to see him consulted, because he always predicted evil for him; but when Jehoshaphat urged that he should be heard, he was fetched from the confinement in which Ahab had placed him. He was advised on the way not to contradict the rest of the prophets on this occasion; but he declared that at the proper moment he would only obey the voice of Jahveh. Accordingly, when he was brought before Ahab and interrogated by him, his first reply was quite in harmony with the utterances of the other prophets. It was, however, observed that he was not quite in earnest about it,[1] and he was more severely interrogated a second time. He then disclosed the dark forebodings of his spirit about the approaching defeat and panic of the armies of Israel in consequence of a disaster to their leaders; and when Ahab began complaining of this prediction, he continued without heeding the interruption, and with loftier eloquence, and unmistakable language, designated the spirit of the false prophets as the divine instrument for deluding and seducing Ahab into the impending war.[2] Then Zedekiah in his indignation struck him on the cheek; but Micaiah promised him in reply that he would acknowledge the truth of what he had said when, on the victory of the Arameans, he should vainly endeavour to conceal himself.[3] Of course Ahab ordered him back into still more rigorous confinement, but he loudly declared that nothing would prove him mistaken except the king's return alive from his expedition. —When the two kings confronted the Arameans in Ramoth, Ahab explained to Jehoshaphat that he must disguise himself

[1] Just as Agamemnon (*Il.* ii. 110 sqq.) at first recommends the precise opposite of what he actually desires, merely to test his people.

[2] The cause of Ahab's being seduced into marching on the expedition in which he is doomed to fall, is, in the last resort, Jahveh himself, against whom he has so deeply erred; but, as the best instrument for that purpose, Jahveh employs the spirit, consequently the spirit of the false prophets. From these truths arises the grand representation in xxii. 19–23, which in vividness and power rivals that in Job i. 6 sqq., and yet only carries into further detail the briefer utterance of Is. xix. 14.

[3] The account of the final fate of this prophet is now, however, wanting; a clear proof that the older work from which this narrative is derived, contained much more than the extant books.

in the battle, because Benhadad had ignobly given orders to his thirty-two officers to aim their weapons at him rather than at anybody else.[1] The result was that the enemy took Jehoshaphat, who had not disguised himself, to be the king of Israel, and pressed him so hard that he was in mortal peril, and was obliged to make himself known by a loud shout, in order to clear up the error and avoid losing his life to no purpose. Ahab, on the other hand, was hit by an accidental shaft, between the groin and the breastbone,[2] and was obliged to be carried off the field. The battle was continued with increased vigour till evening, for Ahab, after his wound was bound up, placed himself again in his chariot, and with great bravery held on during the day. Towards evening, however, he died in his chariot from loss of blood; and as the troops now dispersed of their own accord, all the advantage gained by the courage which had been displayed in the battle was lost. The body of Ahab was brought back in safety to Samaria, and there buried with due respect; but when the chariot stained with his blood was washed in the reservoir of the capital in which the dogs used to lap water, and the harlots to bathe, his blood seemed to have been sufficiently dishonoured to confirm all the evil presentiments of the prophets about him.

3. His son and successor Ahaziah[3] immediately exhibited a far more decided inclination than Ahab had done to all sorts of heathenish superstition, in consequence of which Elijah withdrew entirely out of his reach, just as he had retired from before Ahab during the first years of his reign. Abroad, the new king was unable to maintain his position. The Arameans probably followed up their last victory; even Moab, which had never revolted since David's day, and, under its tributary king Mesha, a rich shepherd prince, was at this very time paying an annual impost of one hundred and ninety thousand lambs and one hundred thousand fleeces of wool, acquired complete independence.[4] And before Ahaziah was sufficiently prepared to attempt its reconquest, an unfortunate fall from a lattice window[5] of a chamber on the roof of his palace in Samaria brought on a tedious illness, of which he finally died after a reign of scarcely two years. During his illness he sent to

[1] That honourable persons in those days gladly avoided slaying noble youths or princes, has been already observed, iii. p. 117; besides, the consequences of blood vengeance were, at that time, especially to be dreaded.

[2] Only something of this kind can be the meaning of ver. 34; שְׁרִי, like θώραξ, means originally the chest itself, and דְּבָקִים must accordingly be the soft parts which *connect* the chest with the bottom of the back.

[3] According to the LXX, Ὀχοζίας.

[4] 2 Kings i. 1, iii. 4 sq.

[5] See the description of a similar lattice in John Mill's *Nablus*, p. 114.

inquire of the oracle of Baal-zebub, in the Philistine city of Ekron,[1] whether he would recover,—a proceeding that was doubly foolish, because the oracle was false, and his hurt was incurable. Accordingly, he found himself obliged at length to have recourse again to the word of Elijah, just as Ahab had been compelled to recall him by a spiritual power which he could not control. But as in the only narrative which is now preserved to us, this truth is represented exclusively from that peculiarly elevated point of view from which the giant power of Elijah was conceived by the writers of a later age, this will be better explained further on.

The childless Ahaziah was succeeded in the sovereignty of the Ten Tribes by his brother Jehoram. This king really displayed a better disposition at the beginning of his reign, and although his mother Jezebel was still alive, he removed from the temple of Baal at Samaria the lofty column with the image of Baal which[2] stood in front of it.[3] About this period, however, the career of Elijah came to an end,[4] and from this moment, especially under his disciple Elisha, the whole relation of prophetism to the monarchy underwent a change, which, with the progress of time, became more and more rapid and irremediable.

II. Elisha and his Age. The Rechabites.

1. A personality like that of Elijah, including elements of such boundless variety, possessed of such native force, and presenting so much novelty to its contemporaries, cannot fail to exercise an almost incalculable influence, even after its earthly disappearance. But it must necessarily vibrate through totally different media, and hence it easily gives rise to movements which contribute, it is true, to bring about the desired end, but in a manner entirely different from the simple idea of the first

[1] The Baal-zebub, i.e. Fly-god, of the Philistines, is only mentioned in the narrative 2 Kings i. 2–16, to which must be referred all the evil things said by the later Jews of Beel-zebub; for there is no proof that this god was really worshipped so many centuries later. He was certainly a mere local god, whose oracle had at that time attained accidental celebrity from causes unknown to us. How the Philistines could ever invoke such a god to keep off flies, and similar annoyances, is explained by the nature of the rest of their religion, cf. ii. p. 415 sq.—When this name was subsequently given to Satan (but evidently first of all only as the sender of diseases), the slight change of pronunciation of the name into Βεελζεβούλ, i.e. Dirt-god, prevailed; at first certainly only a mere humorous change, such as was common in those times; see above, p. 37 *note* 4.

[2] P. 40.

[3] On the apparent contradiction between 2 Kings iii. 2 and x. 27, see the remarks below.

[4] This is proved by the position of the narrative 2 Kings ii. 1–18, as well as from all the other signs of the time.

powerful originator, who, were he still capable of actual cooperation, might accomplish his purpose in quite another way.

Elijah's work had assumed the most different forms. At one time he had withdrawn into austere solitude; at another he had publicly defended the truth in the midst of the people and before kings; but in every phase of his career he had been great. After his decease we observe these very different modes of protecting the true religion divided among different spirits, and thus new spheres of activity are formed for the old religion, but none of them ever equalled in pure power the unique sphere of Elijah. On the one hand an association was formed of those who despaired of being able to carry out in general society their strict conceptions of the true religion; and they consequently withdrew into the deserts, and, like all Israel in former days under Moses, preferred the hardships of a life in tents to all the allurements of existence in the towns. They could appeal for sanction in such a course even to much more ancient exemplars, and certainly such models were not without influence upon their development. From the Nazirites [1] who still continued to exist especially in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes,[2] they adopted the fundamental principle of abstinence from wine and all associated kinds of food; in their tent-life, on the other hand, the ancient Kenites were their model, a few of whom might still remain here and there in Israel from the age of Moses and Joshua.[3] On that account they may themselves have been called Kenites;[4] they settled in the neighbourhood of Judah, probably in the deserts on the southern part of Jordan and the Dead Sea, so that afterwards they were reckoned with Judah; more commonly, however, from the name of their founder Jonadab the son of Rechab, they were called Rechabites. The vow of their order was so strict that they were not allowed to possess either vineyards or corn-fields or houses, and they were consequently rigidly confined for means of subsistence to the products of the wilderness; and till the fall of the

[1] Vol. ii. p. 396 sq.
[2] Amos ii. 11 sq.
[3] Vol. ii. p. 286.
[4] This follows with great probability from 1 Chron. ii. 55; the Hamath (LXX Αἰμάθ) there named was probably the grandfather of Jonadab. The whole passage is as curious as it is difficult to understand, on account of the proper names. So far as we can make out from the words, a number of them lived in a city called Jabesh, of the pious founder of which much was elsewhere narrated, 1 Chron. iv. 9 sq.; these were regarded as Learned men (*Sôpherîm*), since, like the monks in later times, they might well spend their leisure upon learning, and they were themselves divided into three families, ii. 55 comp. with ver. 53 sqq. That learning should have sought to maintain a firmer footing in special families and localities, is not surprising; cf. ii. p. 282. The Vulg. tries to make the three families into *Canentes, Resonantes, in Tabernaculis Commorantes*; but this interpretation is clearly forced, and mere guess-work. In iv. 12, the LXX read אַנְשֵׁי רֵכָב for א׳ רֵכָה.

kingdom of Judah they remained faithful alike to the hardships of this mode of life and to the Jahveh religion. They only entered general society under the compulsion of extraordinary circumstances:[1] this is the reason why we know so little of them. Their founder Jonadab lived at the critical time which we have been describing, and took a most active part in the great triumph over the Baal worship under Jehu, so that we have every cause to look for the origin of this strange sect in the aspirations aroused by the mighty spirit of Elijah.

There were, however, numbers who obviously did not sympathise with these new tendencies; and who were, on the other hand, sufficiently strongly stimulated by the partial success which Elijah had attained during his public career to follow up the pursuit of the object which he had been the first to indicate. The numbers who continually pressed forward to undertake prophetic labours entered, it is true, into closer relations with each other, as they had begun to do in Samuel's time; and as many of them, especially the younger men, did not find a sufficiently promising field for public activity, they sought to make their life easier by living, working, and learning in common. Such 'Sons of the prophets,' as they were from this time generally called, lived chiefly in Samaria, in the ancient sacred localities Gilgal and Bethel, in Jericho and other places on the Jordan.[2] For the most part very poor, they procured the necessaries of life by manual labour;[3] they gladly attached themselves to a great master and teacher,[4] but in other respects were under no vow; they were often married,[5] and could always easily return to their place among the people, in whose destinies they always took the most lively interest; on Sabbaths and new-moons especially they were consulted by numbers of persons who sought their advice.[6] It was not till towards the close of his earthly labours that Elijah began to sojourn rather more among them,[7] but he had evidently made a great impression upon them. And there was among them one especially, who, as being at the same time their great master and an immediate disciple of Elijah, attained a position of high respect,—Elisha,[8] son of Shaphat of

[1] As in the case described 2 Kings x. 15–23; compare the account in Jer. xxxv., a passage which gives us at the same time the clearest particulars for their history.

[2] According to 2 Kings ii. 2–7, 15–22, iv. 38, vi. 1–7.

[3] This is represented in the most vivid manner 2 Kings iv. 38–41, vi. 1–7.

[4] This is obvious from the name 'Disciples of the prophets,' and is confirmed by such expressions as 2 Kings iv. 38, vi. 1.

[5] 2 Kings iv. 1–7.

[6] According to 2 Kings iv. 23.

[7] This follows with great probability from a comparison of the narrative in 2 Kings ii. 1–7 with all that we otherwise know of Elijah's peculiar character and mode of life; and it is confirmed by 1 Kings xix. 16, since it was not till late in his career that Elijah chose even Elisha as his disciple.

[8] Ἐλισσαιέ in the LXX.

Abel-meholah on the Jordan, in the tribe of Issachar, a prophet who laboured for more than half a century in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, and whose influence over his age was more powerful than that of any other prophet in this kingdom subsequent to Elijah.—At the moment when Elijah selected him as his companion and servant, he had just been ploughing his twelve yoke of land, and was at work upon the twelfth and last. He might now have rested for the year, and awaited at his ease the fruits of his numerous acres: but no sooner had Elijah 'cast his mantle upon him'[1] than he left the oxen and followed him. Yet soon after, there awoke in him the craving first to see his parents once more and bid them farewell. Indignant at this reawakening of the desire of the world, Elijah gave him permission to return altogether if he wished;[2] but after he had slain his yoke of oxen, had boiled their flesh with the wood of his plough, and prepared out of it a sacrificial meal for all the people who then assembled, he once more sought out Elijah, and from that time nothing ever separated him from his master.

After Elijah's decease, Elisha was known as the one who 'had poured water on the hands of Elijah.'[3] And certainly Elijah could scarcely have chosen a more powerful servant. Recognised and honoured as the most intimate and trusted disciple of the great prophet, he lived in the exercise of a constantly increasing influence till the beginning of the reign of Jehu's grandson. His career as a prophet thus lasted about fifty-five years, resembling in this respect that of an Isaiah and Jeremiah; and he was, besides, the only prophet in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes whose labours lasted so long, won so much honour, and were so rich in results. But although he had inherited Elijah's mantle,[4] and many might esteem him equally great, yet it was always an essential feature of the representation of him that he had only received two-thirds of Elijah's spirit, and had indeed with difficulty obtained even that.[5] In fact, in this sharp expression tradition affords the

[1] This expression, 1 Kings xix. 19–21, is explained from the ancient mode of adopting children, on which see my *Alterthümer*, p. 241.

[2] The words לך שוב, 1 Kings xix. 20, have here the same meaning as in ver. 15, and as there is so much internal resemblance between the narratives of Elijah and Elisha in the Old, and of Christ in the New Testament, we may compare Matt. viii. 21 sq. as exceedingly similar.

[3] 2 Kings iii. 11.

[4] For a similar case among the Buddhists cf. Spence Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, pp. 119, 174; and among the Sûfi's, Malcolm's *History of Persia*, ii. p. 394 sqq.

[5] It is, above all, to be firmly borne in mind that the words in 2 Kings ii. 9 sq. really can mean nothing more. *Twice* as much spirit as Elijah possessed it is evident Elisha cannot ask of him, still less can Elijah bestow it; and פי שנים is not identical with כפלים, Job xi. 6, but is to be understood according to my *Lehrb.* § 269*c*.

most correct and striking judgment of his value, taken as a whole. He is great only so far as he continues and carries out with more force than any other man of his time the work which Elijah had begun with new and wonderful power, the task of defending the ancient religion with a courage which nothing could shake. But while, like Elijah, he intends only to defend the ancient truth, and to repel and annihilate modern error, the dangers to the higher religion itself which lie concealed in such a course, undergo a larger and more rapid development under his influence than under that of his master, inasmuch as he did not possess such intensity of inward power. Himself contending with immovable steadfasness for the old religion, he becomes, through the great spirit bestowed upon him, a refuge for all the faithful; even from beyond the limits of Israel he is sought as a great prophet; he is the head of the prophets who live for the religion of Jahveh; he is the protection and comfort of numbers of the pious and devout among the people; he is a healer of much misery, and a living instrument of the manifold blessings which Jahveism had it in its power at that time to diffuse; but he was still less capable than Elijah of inaugurating a purely benign and constructive mode of action, since at that time the whole spirit of the ancient religion was still incapable of it. He was called at last by the kings of the Ten Tribes not only 'father,' but even 'the chariot of Israel and its horsemen,'[1] because the protection which he then alone and single-handed afforded to Israel by his spirit, appeared as great as or even more powerful than that of all the chariots and horsemen,—nay, when these were almost annihilated, the support he offered continued efficient. Great and glorious, however as this is, it is melancholy to think that it was under him that the kingdom of the Ten Tribes first became outwardly so extremely weak. The complete victory over the heathenism of his age for which Elijah had so effectively prepared the way and which the course of history itself now matured in spite of all resistance, he only brought about after ten years of action by a violent effort, so that the whole position of the kingdom and consequently his own position in it underwent a complete change: but it was inevitably only a victory which immediately involved in it many new elements of bitterness. Hence the

[1] According to 2 Kings xiii. 14, cf. vi. 21. His lofty title of honour, 'chariot of Israel and its horsemen,' only receives its full meaning under the kings of the house of Jehu; perhaps, however, an occurrence like that narrated in 2 Kings vi. 24–vii. 20 may have already given occasion to it under Jehoram. If Elijah also is addressed by Elisha with this lofty title in the last moments of his sojourn on earth, 2 Kings ii. 12, it is probably because a later age has in this respect confused the two prophets.

course of his life is quite different from that of Elijah. The life of Elijah was passed in a struggle of constantly increasing intensity, which partial successes did not interrupt, and from the most furious rage of which protection could only be found in the deserts and the mountain glens. The first decade of Elisha's career exhibits the same violent excitement, and during that period he often wanders to Carmel.[1] But still he prefers from the first the companionship of men,[2] and ends by gaining great outward success as a prophet and winning universal honour especially from the kings. He fixes his residence in Samaria, and there he tranquilly attains the greatest age. In spite of all the seductions to which he was abundantly exposed through the great consideration in which he was held, he retained at every period of his life the true prophetic simplicity and purity, and contempt for worldly wealth and advantages;[3] but though Elijah's successor may have been of so pure a spirit, yet Elisha's disciple was a Gehazi, who stands as far below Elisha as Elisha is inferior to Elijah, nay, who certainly quite comprehends the art of acquiring riches, but (as the tradition at once appropriately adds) under his master's curse paid for his cleverness with leprosy.[4]

Elisha is the subject of a number of narratives in the present book of Kings, which not only cursorily mention him in connexion with a larger circle of events,[5] but revolve solely round the illustration of his wonderful career. Although in the last resort derived from various sources, some older and some more recent,[6] they constitute in every respect an unmistakable unity, and must have been recorded in a special work before they were incorporated in the present book of Kings. They all possess a certain resemblance in so far as they only bring into prominence the recollections of Elisha's miracles.[7] The province of religion is naturally always the province of miracles

[1] P. 68.

[2] This is clearly shown from 2 Kings iii. 11–16.

[3] 2 Kings v. Hence we may also conclude that he did not accept the splendid present of Benhadad, 2 Kings viii. 9; cf. also 2 Kings iv. 42–44.

[4] 2 Kings v. 20–27; cf. iv. 12–15, 25–31, 43, vi. 15–17, viii. 4 sq. It is with obvious design that the narrative places Gehazi much lower on critical occasions.

[5] As the narrative 2 Kings iii. 4–27; cf. vv. 11–16.

[6] Thus the narrative of Naaman's cure, 2 Kings v., of the deliverance of Samaria, vi. 24–vii. 20, of Hazael's meeting with Elisha, viii. 7–15, have evidently a much clearer historical background than that of the fustration of the purpose of the Arameans, vi. 8–23. It is in accordance with this that the conclusion of this narrative vi. 23, according to which the Aramean incursions ceased, so little harmonises with the beginning of the next narrative, ver. 24, that it must obviously have stood originally in a different place. Further, the short narratives, ii. 19–25, iv. 38–43, appear very old. The style of language and conception are, however, so much alike in all, that we are obliged to assume one final author.

[7] The older narratives, 2 Kings iii. 4–27, ix. 1 sqq., are very different.

also, because it is that of pure and strong faith in the presence and operation of heavenly forces in human action as well as in human experience; where, therefore, true religion makes the most powerful efforts, there will be a corresponding display of miracles which will either actually take place through the activity of the believing spirit, or will be at any rate experienced by the believing heart; while to be powerfully moved, though only from a distance, by the might of such forces is in itself a gain. Thus far the age of Elijah and Elisha, when the true religion was obliged to maintain itself with the utmost force against its internal enemies, was as rich in miracles as the days of Moses and Joshua or the conclusion of the period of the Judges had been; only these miracles do not now as in the time of Moses and Joshua affect the whole nation, nor, as in the era of the last Judges, are they directed against a foreign people, but they proceed from a few individual prophets who are compelled as instruments of the ancient religion to exert all the greater power, as in the nation itself the true faith threatens to disappear. No such stories can be anything more than scattered traces of the action of a spirit in itself miraculous, and of the impression immediately produced by it; but that there is some spirit of power in religion to the agency of which they all point is only the more certain. But this very element in the contents of such narratives, especially in Elijah's case, has happily contributed to preserve other recollections which are not chiefly, still less solely, concerned with this peculiarity.[1] And further, it is by no means to be overlooked that such recollections of the miraculous activity of such a spirit would, from the very first, be conceived in various ways by various dispositions; and in the course of time would assume very different forms. All the evidence points to the conclusion that the collection which was incorporated in the book of Kings was not composed in its earlier shape till about one hundred years after Elisha, when there were no longer any of his disciples, like Gehazi, alive, and the whole memory of his miraculous career threatened to disappear.[2]

The general character of the age of Elisha is still very clearly apparent; but many of the details had been already lost at the time of the reduction of the tradition to writing. Many localities are indicated with precision, but no dates are given;

[1] Like that in 2 Kings iii. 9.

[2] Further reasons will be assigned below for believing that the passages relating to Elijah, 1 Kings xvii.–xix., 2 Kings ii. 1–18, were composed at any rate, later than the oldest collection of those about Elisha; these older fragments, at least about Elisha, may have been composed during the existence of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, cf. the exact description of the locality of Samaria, 2 Kings v. 24.

and among all the reigning kings only one is alluded to by name.[1] And the series of narratives, otherwise only loosely linked to one another, seems rather to be arranged according to the connexion of their contents, and to be marked off in round numbers. We have accordingly the following:—1) At the request of the inhabitants of Jericho Elisha makes the water of the city more wholesome, and consequently diminishes in the land the tendency to produce abortions. He threw salt on a new dish into the spring.[2] This was obviously originally a local tradition in Jericho; the great fertility round Jericho depends even now almost entirely on a few rich springs, among which there may once have been a salt medicinal spring; and the inhabitants thus claimed the honour of Elisha's sojourn among them. The fifth narrative is similar. 2) On the journey to Bethel he is mocked at by rude boys on account of his baldness (in this also, therefore, he differed from Elijah), and, on his simply looking back at them sternly, two she-bears come out of the wood to devour forty-two of them.[3] This narrative is a fellow to the preceding. 3) For the widow of a disciple of the prophets, whose two sons the creditor is just going to take away as slaves, he makes a little oil into a large quantity.[4] With this narrative corresponds the sixth, which tells a similar story about bread, and to provide abundance in the midst of undeserved need is the fairest prerogative of divine agency. 4) He predicts the birth of a son to a prosperous lady of Shunem, whose hospitable house was always open to him, and when his aid is invoked by the trusting mother on the boy's early death, he restores him to life.[5] Of this double event a very vivid sketch is drawn.[6] Before the 'man of God' can himself impart to the dead the breath of life, he sends forward Gehazi in all haste to hold his staff over his head, as if to prevent any more life from issuing from the deceased.[7] 5) Among the disciples of the pro-

[1] Benhadad, 2 Kings vi. 24.

[2] 2 Kings ii. 19–22; cf. Wilson's *Lands*, ii. p. 12 sqq., Gadow in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesell.* 1848, p. 58. Salt springs are now referred to the favour of Islamic saints (Ainsworth's *Travels in Asia Minor*, i. p. 167, 179), just as among the Greeks they were ascribed to the favour of Demeter or Poseidon. What is now called Elisha's well is described by Seetzen, *Reisen*, ii. p. 266, 406 sqq.; cf. also Epiphan. *Hær.* li. 30; Jihân-Numâ, p. 533 sq.; Arndt's *Schriften*, iii. p. 537 sq.; *Münchener Gel. Anz*, 1860, p. 287; De Saulcy's *Voyage*, ii. p. 136, 144.

[3] 2 Kings ii. 23–25.

[4] 2 Kings iv. 1–7; cf. also Ovid. *Metam.* viii. 680 sq.; Spence Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, p. 85.

[5] 2 Kings iv. 8–37.

[6] The description 2 Kings iv. 14–17 is plainly derived originally from Gen. xviii. 9–14; that in 2 Kings vi. 18, from Gen. xix. 11: the age of these passages in their present form may thus be somewhat more exactly determined; but with these exceptions no imitations from the primitive history are to be found here.

[7] Cf. a similar but imitated description in Abdias' *Act. Apost.* iv. 3*a*. E.; far more serviceable for the same purpose was the under garment, v. 21.

phets in Gilgal during a famine he throws meal into a pot into which some unwholesome wild fruit (probably colocynth) had been put, and thus renders it innocuous.[1] 6) With twenty loaves of first-fruits and some corn in fresh ears, which are presented to him by a man from Baal-shalisha,[2] he satisfies the hunger of a hundred persons who are then with him, and has some left.[3] 7) He bids the Aramean general Naaman, who had come from Damascus on purpose to be healed by him, bathe seven times in the Jordan, and thus cures him of his leprosy; he refuses his costly presents, so that the Gentile, overcome by astonishment at the whole proceeding, declares that in future he will only worship Elisha's God; but by a prophetic curse he casts upon Gehazi and his posterity the leprosy he has taken from Naaman, because this unworthy disciple had run after the rich Gentile, after he had started on his journey home, in order to ask for a present for himself.[4] This narrative, in many respects so remarkable, affords us a very clear glance into the condition of the age. When Gehazi, asked by the prophet where he had been, replies from fear that he had not been anywhere, the prophet, at once divining everything, rejoins with stern look, 'Had not my beloved been anywhere when some one (viz. Naaman) turned from his lofty chariot towards thee?[5] Is this a time (when there should rather be general mourning in Israel) to accept presents for feasting?' 8) He saves an axe which had been borrowed by a disciple of the prophets when at work at a new settlement, and had fallen into the Jordan; he threw on to the spot where it had sunk a piece of wood cut to fit it, which caught it up.[6] 9) He invariably frustrates the in-

[1] 2 Kings iv. 38–41.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 19 *note* 3.

[3] 2 Kings iv. 42–44.

[4] 2 Kings v. The proper name Naaman (which passed from Aramean countries into Arabic as Nomân) is unquestionably derived from the name of an ancient Aramean god of love, which is still preserved in the name of the flower شقايق النعمان (Ibn-Arabshah, *Chulaf.* p. 205, 2 sq.) and which is certainly referred to in Is. xvii. 10; just as the name of the Aramean god Hadad not only occurred in combinations like Benhadad, p. 24 *note* 5, עבד הדד on Persian-Syrian coins (*Revue numismatique*, 1861, p. 9 sqq.), but appears also quite shortly as a proper name, iii. p. 217.

[5] Even as early as the ancient translators the first words, 2 Kings v. 26, were only explained by an entirely arbitrary guess. In order to comprehend them as the connexion and the language alike require, one assumption must be made, viz., that 'my heart' can be equivalent to 'my beloved,' an expression which Elisha employs with serious mockery to designate his favourite disciple, who, although he is as the heart of his master, could yet transgress against him so deeply. There are similar expressions in Canticles; and in the popular tales of Turkey, بنم جانم, 'my soul!' is often equivalent to قرنداش, 'brother!' The word לא can only stand as an interrogation before the main word of the sentence; the *perf.* after this has of itself the significance of *plusqpf.* and the words are the more pointed if they only let fall hints.

[6] 2 Kings vi. 1–7; cf. Arndt's *Schriften*, vol. iii. p. 539 sq.

cursions of the Arameans into Israel, and in spite of their violent anger against him, compels them to discontinue them.[1] 10) He prevents the conquest of Samaria by Benhadad.[2] 11) On the approach of a seven years' famine, he advises the lady in Shunem, whose son he had restored to life, to leave the country; and when she returns after seven years from the fertile coast of Philistia, she immediately receives back from the king the estates that had been forfeited to him, as she happens to address her petition to him at the very moment that Gehazi is giving him an account of the miracle that had formerly befallen her.[3] 12) He predicts to the Aramean general Hazael his future career.[4] These are all the narratives up to that of his death.[5] Resembling each other in their contents, they are only interrupted by extracts from an entirely different source.[6] We have here, therefore, the round number of twelve narratives, and if instead of the eighth, the cycle originally contained another dealing with the relations of Elisha to the king, e.g. something like that of the prophet's death, then the first half exhibited the connexion of Elisha with the disciples of the prophets and with the people, the second treated of his relations with the rulers of the earth; nor could any arrangement be more simple and appropriate.

This cycle of twelve narratives is inserted in our book of Kings in such a manner as easily to give rise to the supposition that all these miracles were performed by Elisha during the reign of king Jehoram, which only lasted twelve years altogether. But closer examination dispels this opinion. Far the longest period of Elijah's activity falls in the forty-five years after Jehoram, and we know that his influence and reputation were continually on the increase. We must consequently suppose that these fragments contain recollections from the whole of Elisha's career, which extended over fifty-five years; and a more careful investigation at once discloses that none of those narratives which allude to the great respect in which he was held by the sovereign of the Ten Tribes,[7] could possibly belong to any earlier time than the age of the house of Jehu.

2. King Jehoram himself began his reign with somewhat greater respect for the believers in Jahveh.[8] But the first period of his rule was so disturbed externally that he had every

[1] 2 Kings vi. 8–23. See also p. 121.
[2] Ibid. vi. 24–vii. 20. See also p. 90.
[3] Ibid. viii. 1–6.
[4] Ibid. viii. 7–15. See also p. 93.
[5] Ibid. xiii. 14–21.
[6] Ibid. iii.
[7] Such as 2 Kings iv. 13. vi. 8–24, viii. 4–6, comp. with xiii. 14–18.
[8] P. 78.

inducement to treat them prudently. The chastisement of rebellious Moab and the repair as far as possible of the latest disaster which the honour of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes had sustained, were of course among his first efforts, in which the reigning king of Judah[1] promised willing aid. At that time, however, Edom had already so far regained its independence of Judah that a native tributary king had been conceded to it. The help of this prince was now claimed by the two allied kings; it was even resolved that the invasion of Moab should be made on the south from the territory of Edom, as it was on this side that it was least prepared for the attack. Truly it scarcely appeared possible for Moab to resist the armies of these three kings; but before the troops with their numerous war and transport cattle could advance to the southern boundary of Moab, the brook Zered,[2] they suffered for seven days from want of water in the barren districts on the south of the Dead Sea. In this distress the king of Judah recommended that recourse should be had to Elisha, who had accompanied the expedition, for counsel and comfort from Jahveh. He at first refused to give encouragement and support from Jahveh to a king who still tolerated the prophets of Baal; but at length he consented (we are told) out of consideration for the king of Judah to exert all his prophetic power. He called for a harp-player that his music might raise him to the proper condition of exaltation, and then promised that in the valley where the army was encamped there should appear a number of pools: for soon would Jahveh fill the valley with water without wind or rain, so that they should conquer heathen Moab and march through the country, carrying devastation wherever they went. And the next morning (continues the story) before sunrise, at the time of the offering of the daily morning sacrifice,[3] the trenches were actually filled with water which appeared to come from Edom on the south, and had the red tinge of the soil of that country.[4] When the Moabites at last became aware of the

[1] This king is named Jehoshaphat in 2 Kings iii. 4–27; and the description of him harmonises very well with the usual style of representing him, cf. especially 1 Kings xxii.; the passage itself appears to be from the older composer of the history of the Kings. All this is directly in favour of the supposition that it really was Jehoshaphat who marched on that expedition; but the testimony of the State-annals and the other reasons adduced p. 54 sq. tend to show that there was no king of Edom in Jehoshaphat's time. We may, therefore, assume it as possible that it was originally Jehoshaphat's son Jehoram who was mentioned here, but that the name of the other as the better known was subsequently substituted in his place.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 200.

[3] See the *Alterthümer*, p. 132; cf. 1 Kings xviii. 29, 36, where the phrase is intended in like manner to mark the particular time in the evening, viz. after sunset.

[4] The mountains on the south of the valley consist principally of sandstone

magnitude of the impending danger, they mustered all their resources and sent large detachments to defend this line of territory. Startled at the sight of the pools of water and dazzled by the reflection of the beams of the morning sun, they imagined that they saw in them real blood, which they assumed to be the traces of a quarrel which had broken out between the armies of the three kings; it is also extremely likely that they were deceived by false hopes of the disposition of the king of Edom; and they accordingly rushed with wild greed of booty on the camp of Israel. The three kings, however, inflicted on them a defeat all the more severe, advanced victoriously over the border, and marched through Moab, devastating the entire country in every direction. They destroyed all the towns; laid waste all the best corn land by throwing stones over it; stopped up every spring, and felled every fruit-tree. The capital (Rabbah) was certainly also taken. The only place which still held out against the superiority of the enemy and afforded a shelter for the remains of the active forces of the country,[1] was the mountain fastness of Kir-Haraseth, south of the capital (now called Kerák, i.e. stronghold), a fortress which is never mentioned in earlier ages; erected probably only a short time before, its very elaborate construction rendered it difficult to reduce. But even this fastness was surrounded by slingers,[2] who were able to hit it from a distance, and thus injured it not a little. The king of Moab, who was shut up inside it, was thus finally driven to the most desperate resistance, and gave the most memorable token of what a king could dare on behalf of his people when it had just won its freedom. With seven hundred of the best armed and bravest of his troops, he sought to cut his way through to the king of Edom, still cherishing the hope that he would be the easiest to detach from the allied

(Burckhardt's *Syria*, pp. 401, 431 sq.); this might afford some explanation of the red colour of the soil and the water in the pools; it may perhaps be the origin even of the name Edom itself. But the same phenomenon is exhibited in the extraordinary cases already mentioned (ii. p. 62) of the sudden reddening of water in various places; see besides Maundrell's *Travels*, p. 34 sq.; *Ausland*, 1846, Aug. p. 972; 1847, May, p. 468. At any rate, a historical background may thus be very clearly discerned through the present narrative.

[1] Even the early translators could only guess at the meaning of the last words of ver. 25. The context, however, requires —(1) that קִיר חֲרֶשֶׂת (properly *potsherd-fortress*) should be treated as the proper name of the fortress known from Is. xv. sq.; and (2) that אַבְנֵי, 'the stones of Moab,' should be understood as the 'cliffs or rocky stronghold of Moab;' for the fortress was also called קִיר מוֹאָב, Is. xv. 1, and its later name Kerák simply means stronghold, because it was the only stronghold in the whole country which was difficult to conquer. Were it not too bold a correction, שְׁרִידֵי, 'Moab's remnants,' would be an easier reading.

[2] These were not ordinary slingers, but they used more elaborate engines, such as catapults; for it is plain from Uzziah's history, 2 Chron. xxvi. 15, that all sorts of elaborate modes of attacking fortifications were very early known in Asia.

army; he was, however, beaten back. Reduced to the last extremity, he took his own first-born son and successor, who evidently on his part willingly devoted himself to die for his country, and in sight of the besieging army publicly offered him in sacrifice upon the ramparts of the fortress, apparently with the intention of confounding the enemy by the spectacle of the frightful deed to which they had forced him, and thus effecting a change in their purposes. And in fact, the awful nature of this ancient Canaanite sacrifice, which had not for many ages been witnessed in Israel, did not fail to make the desired impression. As though Jahveh himself were full of bitterness against Israel for having driven the king to a deed of such fearful bravery, the army, impelled by a gloomy terror, raised the siege,[1] and commenced a retreat to the frontier of the country. Had there been a Joab or a David then alive in Israel, such an issue of the campaign would not have been tolerated; but already a worm of inward weakness had begun to gnaw at the national heart and its confidence in Jahveh. From that day, however, Moab remained independent, and for long ages after, the relations between the two states were inverted, and whenever other causes had enfeebled the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, roving bands from Moab marched across the Jordan on plundering incursions.[2]

It may have been the unfortunate issue of this campaign which encouraged the Aramean king Benhadad in one of the following years to undertake that expedition of conquest against Samaria, of which we gather some more definite knowledge from the cycle of narratives about Elisha.[3] He had already once before in the reign of Ahab[4] vainly attacked the mountain city. On this occasion he invested it so closely, and pressed it so severely, by cutting off all its supplies, that it was told in after

[1] No narrative explains to us so clearly as this what were the feelings in which the ancient Canaanite sacrifice of children originated, and what contributed to maintain it so long; it was evidently not always without result. It is not the purport of the narrative that Israel dreaded the Moabite god to whom this offering was made; but it is all the plainer that a large portion of Israel was not yet emancipated from heathen conceptions of sacrifice. This, however, concerns the whole subject of sacrifices. The essential features of this narrative reappear in a remarkable manner in the Arabic story of the fidelity of a certain Samuel; see the Scholia to *Hariri*, c. xxiii. *ad fin.* and elsewhere.

[2] This was done, for instance, more than fifty years later, 2 Kings xiii. 20 sq. The brevity of the language at the conclusion, 2 Kings iii. 27, is eloquent enough; and nothing is more incorrect than the addition made in the Polyglott by the Arabic translator (it may have been Saadiah), that Israel did not retire until it had accomplished all its objects.

[3] 2 Kings vi. 24–vii. 20. The expression 'son of a murderer' can only refer in Elisha's mouth to Jehoram, not to a king of the house of Jehu. Moreover, the commencement of the narrative, as vi. 30 sq. shows, has been much abbreviated by the last composer of the twelve narratives of Elisha.

[4] P. 71 sq.

days as an instance of the rigour of the siege that the head of an animal so objectionable for consumption as the ass was sold for eighty shekels, and the smallest measure of dove's dung for five shekels. Elisha, however, was in the city, and had done more than anyone else to inflame the courage of all to resistance. Even the king listened to his promise of speedy deliverance, and had duly submitted himself to the demands of the austere prophet with respect to fasts and penitential garb. He was, therefore, all the more terribly overcome by the complaint of a woman who forced her suit upon him in the open street,[1] and told him that another woman who had joined her in eating her son now refused to fulfil her part of the agreement they had made, and had hid her own. Horrified at finding so much misery in the city, he swore instant death to Elisha, but for whose interference he would long ago have made terms for its surrender. He immediately despatched a messenger to carry out this sentence upon the prophet. Elisha was just then in council with the elders of the city, who had assembled at his house. He surmised beforehand the purpose of the king and before the messenger could arrive and execute the royal order, he had the door closed and kept him outside. The king, accompanied by his most confidential officer, soon followed to see what had been done to carry out his decree, and then Elisha met his despairing complaints with lofty confidence, and even for the next day promised unexpected plenty.[2]. Well might the officer, aping the prophet's tone, scornfully retort with the mocking utterance, 'Jahveh will open windows in heaven! Thou couldest as easily promise us that; but will that come to pass?' Elisha, however, told him to expect the speedy fulfilment of his words, but (it is further related) predicted that though he would see it he would not enjoy its fruits. Soon afterwards it was actually discovered by four leprous men, who had been induced by hunger and weariness of life to go over to the enemy, that their camp had been abandoned in a sudden flight; and as their statement about it in the city was, in spite of a suspicion still lingering in the king's mind, perfectly confirmed by further inquiry, the people quickly proceeded to indemnify themselves by plundering the camp and pursuing

[1] He says to her first of all, ver. 27, 'If God do not help thee, whence shall I help thee? out of the threshing-floor or out of the wine-press?' (since thou knowest that I have nothing to give from there). But she wants something else.—How אל can bear this meaning, may be seen from my *Lehrb.* § 355*b*.

[2] In vi. 33 it is certain that we should read המלך instead of המלאך, erroneously repeated from ver. 32, although the LXX had המלאך. The context requires it, and vii. 17 confirms it. On the other hand, in vii. 2 the LXX had still the correct reading.

the confused and flying foe; the officer, meantime, who had been placed on guard at the very gate from which the people poured forth, was trodden to death by the crowd. Deceived by a sound in the air, the enemy had dreaded the near approach of Canaanite[1] and Egyptian auxiliaries; while the ancient faith of Israel in miraculous celestial phenomena as revelations of their invisible God naturally saw in this the special help of Jahveh.[2] The king of Israel appears to have followed up this victory with further successes against the Arameans; for in the last period of his reign we find him really in possession of Ramoth in Gilead,[3] for which Ahab had in vain given his life,[4] and there is nothing to prevent our supposing that he conquered it several years before his death.

Yet although Elisha had rendered such important services both to Jehoram and his people on critical occasions, and, unlike Elijah, had such evident pleasure in human companionship, a good understanding could not be permanently established between the prophet and the king. Although not personally devoted to heathenism, Jehoram still permitted its existence in his kingdom,[5] and his mother Jezebel certainly possessed great influence over the government.[6] But a growing want of harmony between the two was fraught with dangers, which grew with the increase, on the one hand, of the importance of Elisha both among the prophets of Jahveh and in the eyes of the whole nation, and, on the other, of the weight with which the general condition of the age threw on the son the whole burden of the memory of the crimes of such parents as Ahab and Jezebel.

It was probably one of the foremost consequences of this disunion that Elisha voluntarily withdrew for some time to Damascus. In what high respect he was there held, and how his seer's power was proved on the most important occasions, was related in after days as follows.[7] King Benhadad, on whom the kings of Israel had inflicted so many disgraceful defeats, and whose reputation had thus fallen so low, fell ill, and des-

[1] E.g. from Tyre or Hamath.

[2] The whole narrative has certainly a genuinely historical basis; although we have no other authority with which to compare the details. The retirement of Sennacherib's army from Jerusalem was of a similar kind; cf. the parallel cases from the Middle Ages, *Journal. Asiat.* p. 10, 36 sq., Barges' *Histoire des Beni Zeiyan* (Par. 1852), p. 36 sq., and on a small scale the recent event in the same country described by G. Rosen (*Grenzboten*, 1860, p. 152 sq.).

[3] This is clear from 2 Kings ix. 1 sq., 14 sq.; cf. viii. 28.

[4] P. 75 sqq.

[5] It might even be inferred from 2 Kings x. 27 that he had restored the statue of Baal which he had at first removed; it is possible, however, that it remained all that time placed on one side, and was not actually destroyed till the reign of Jehu.

[6] This follows from 2 Kings x. 13; cf. ix. 30.

[7] 2 Kings viii. 7-15.

patched his general Hazael[1] with the most costly presents[2] to bear a friendly greeting to Elisha, and at the same time obtain from him an oracle of Jahveh about his recovery. The prophet of Israel sent word to him that he would recover; but added a different intimation for Hazael alone, that God had as surely revealed to him that the king would soon die.[3] But this was not all; he looked at him long and strangely with unchanged countenance and wept. At length Hazael asked why the man of God was weeping, and the prophet declared that he knew beforehand how much evil Hazael would hereafter do in war to the people of Israel; nay, he even concluded, as the other modestly declined all future military glory, by saying that Jahveh had revealed to him that Hazael would hereafter be king of the Arameans. Upon this they parted, and Hazael gave the necessary report to his master, repeating, however, only the cheerful message of Elisha. On the next day, however, the king was found dead, not from his illness of course, but from violence; as he was going to take his bath, his servant (we do not now know from what particular motive) dipped the bath-cloth into the hot water, and, before the king could call for help, drew it so tight over his head that he was smothered.[4]

He was succeeded on the throne by Hazael, under whom the Aramean monarchy rose most vigorously to new power.[5] The more energetic arm of Hazael was felt soon enough in Samaria

[1] That Hazael was Benhadad's commander-in-chief is only an inference from the general relations of that period. Naaman, who (2 Kings v.) occupies a position of similar dignity, certainly does not belong to any earlier age (judging from the description of him and of his time) than that of the house of Hazael in Damascus, and of Jehu in Israel.

[2] They consisted of all kinds of the valuable commodities which could then be obtained in Damascus, to the weight of forty camel-loads; this last expression is obviously only intended to denote their value, taking about as much corn as a camel could carry as a measure. How valuable such presents were may be seen from Herodot. i. 50–54.

[3] The words viii. 10, cf. ver. 14, are not capable of any other interpretation, since there must be some significance in the change from the second to the third person.

[4] It might perhaps be inferred from vv. 14, 15 that it was Hazael himself who had thus murdered his master; but the context makes this scarcely credible. To say nothing of the facts that Hazael is not described as a person of such malignity, and is not indicated by the prophet as the murderer of his sovereign, it is by no means clear how he could have been present at the king's bath; for that the king was smothered in his bath (which in the East is always warm) is obviously implied in the words. If the article in המכבר points to the fact that the well-known *bath*-cloth must have been used, there is no difficulty (according to § 294*b* of my *Lehrb.*) in making the bath-servant the subject of the verb ויקח; and if the first verbs in ver. 15 were intended to refer to Hazael, the subsequent repetition of his name would be superfluous; cf. Ex. xxxiv. 4.—Very similar modes of murder were common, as in the cases of Agamemnon (Aesch. *Ag.* 1056 sqq.), of the last of the Asmoneans (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 3. 3), of Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 50), of Constans II. at Syracuse in the year 668 A.D., and Romanus Argyrus (by Zoé) in the year 1034.

[5] Cf. also the addition of the LXX, 2 Kings ix. 16.

by Jehoram. He found himself compelled to send an army of observation to Ramoth in Gilead, marched himself to the war which had become inevitable, but was defeated and wounded in the open field, and leaving his army behind in Ramoth, retired to his palace in Jezreel to be healed.[1] A time like this of unsuccessful fighting, or of delay in his palace, on the part of the king, while his army was in the field encountering a dreaded enemy, had already proved fatal in this kingdom to the royal houses of Jeroboam and Baasha;[2] and now, in addition to this danger, a successful change of dynasty had been effected in Damascus, which, like every similar revolution, might easily spread its stimulus over adjoining countries. Everything, therefore, difficulties abroad as well as disunion at home, contributed to the ruin of the house of Omri.

3. Moreover, the kingdom of Judah fell at that time from the elevation to which Asa and Jehoshaphat had raised it. Jehoram, the eldest son of Jehoshaphat, was thirty-two years of age when he began to reign, but he seemed only made to undo all the benefits which his father had conferred upon the kingdom. He immediately put to death his six brothers (on whom his father had made rich settlements and bestowed governorships of fortresses), perhaps only from avarice after their wealth.[3] Edom, stirred up by this outrage, soon revolted from his dominion. With his chariots and other troops he marched to meet the enemy, who had already penetrated as far as Zair, south of the Dead Sea. He was, however, surrounded, and could only save himself by a night attack; and, although victorious, he was compelled to recognise the new king of Edom, and had to be satisfied with a sort of vassalship to which his antagonist consented.[4] It was probably about the same time that the Philistines and the Arabic populations on the south of Judea[5] broke into the kingdom, and even succeeded in taking Jerusalem by surprise and carrying off from the royal palace a quantity of treasure, as well as several of the king's wives and children,

[1] 2 Kings viii. 28 sq., ix. 14 sq.

[2] Pp. 32, 35.

[3] 2 Chron. xxi. 1–4.

[4] 2 Kings viii. 20–22, repeated in 2 Chron. xxi. 8–10; cf. the remark p. 88 *note* 1. The place named Zair in the first passage, is probably identical with what is otherwise called Zoar, cf. the pronunciation Σηγώρ, LXX, Is. xv. 5; see also i. p. 314.

[5] We know nothing of all this except from the brief words 2 Chron. xxi. 16 sq., xxii. 1; and here it is not expressly said that Jerusalem was conquered. The event itself possesses certainly the more historical credibility since it explains the revolt of Libnah, mentioned quite by itself 2 Kings viii. 22; but the name *Arabians*, which does not appear before the age of Isaiah, is certainly in this case and also in that of Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xvii. 11, used by the Chronicler only, to whom belongs also the clause 'who live near the Cushites,' by which it is probably intended to describe the remote habitations of these Arabians stretching to the far south.

and it was probably on this occasion that Gath[1] recovered its freedom. The confusion and weakness in Judah reached such a pitch that the town of Libnah, which lay over against the Philistine territory, though it had always belonged to Judah, openly went over to the enemy, and continued for a long time in revolt. But in spite of all these disasters Jehoram constantly permitted himself to be led away by his wife Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab,[2] into the promotion of heathenism; and the temple of Baal, with the altars and images of Baal himself and his fellow-gods, which was destroyed in Jerusalem after Athaliah's fall,[3] was probably erected under this king, after the pattern of the one at Samaria, with the treasures accumulated by Jehoshaphat. When, therefore, he fell ill with a very serious internal disease, which lasted two years, it was treated as a sign of divine punishment; and on his death after a reign of eight years (at any rate according to the narrative of the Chronicler) the usual honour of a public burial was not accorded to him.[4] He was succeeded by his only surviving son, Jehoahaz, who received on his accession the name of Ahaziah.[5] This prince was then twenty-two years of age,[6] and he allowed himself to be so completely led in everything by his mother Athaliah, and other friends of the house of Ahab, that the spirit of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes seemed to have subjugated Judah also.

If, then, any prophet of Elisha's power had directed his glance from the northern to the southern kingdom, to see whether any deliverance from the dominion of heathenism was to be looked for from that quarter (though we have already seen how impossible it then was to think of any reunion of the two monarchies), he would have recoiled with even greater horror from the spectacle it presented. In both kingdoms at the same time, heathenism, supported by the influence of the crown, threatened to crush the old religion. The ancient faith made one more violent effort at resistance, but it was only

[1] P. 46.

[2] P. 63.

[3] 2 Kings xi. 18.

[4] 2 Chron. xxi. 18 sq.; cf., however, iii. p. 273 *note* 2.

[5] In this way the two names, 2 Chron. xxi. 17, xxii. 1, may certainly be reconciled; but Azariah, xxi. 6, must be a transcriber's error.

[6] According to 2 Kings viii. 26; the number forty-two in 2 Chron. xxii. 2 is obviously a copyist's error, just as כִּי הַמַּכִּ' ver. 6, for מֵהַמַּכִּ'. It is further surprising to learn from 2 Chron. xxi. 17, xxii. 1 that Ahaziah was the youngest son of Jehoram, since the latter was only forty years old at his death. Meantime we are only to understand here the children of Jehoram by the queen proper, as in the case of Jehoshaphat, where the seven children are all mentioned by name, 2 Chron. xxi. 2. According to 2 Kings x. 13 sq., Ahaziah had forty-two more brothers; but this expression may denote all male relations indeterminately; in 2 Chron. xxii. 8, the expression is changed for 'brothers' sons.'

spasmodic, and had no other instrument than that which had hitherto been alike its living spring and its most vigorous force, —the prophetic power. Moreover, it proceeded from that kingdom, which had grown accustomed to being the theatre of such violent convulsions and deadly struggles between the two great independent powers. But no revolution in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes had ever been more terrible and destructive than this, the aim of which was to annihilate at the same time the heathenism which had gone on insinuating itself more and more deeply, and a dynasty which had for half a century been constantly taking firmer root in the kingdom. The deepest basis of the realm was shattered by the revolution; and the waves of the storm reached even to the foundation of the kingdom of Judah, which was at that time in such close alliance with the northern monarchy, and very nearly overthrew it.

III. The Great Revolution.

Of this great change we possess now only one account; but it is derived from an ancient source, and presents the event to our view with remarkable vividness.[1]

After Jehoram, Ahab's son, leaving his army behind at Ramoth in Gilead,[2] had returned covered with wounds to his palace in Jezreel, Elisha commissioned one of the disciples of the prophets to anoint, as king of Israel, a prince, i.e. an officer who was encamped with the troops in Gilead, as the man whom Jahveh had chosen to destroy the worship of Baal, and to avenge the prophets slain by Ahab and Jezebel. The personage thus selected was Jehu, son of Jehoshaphat, son of Nimshi; and certainly there was no military prince more fitted to carry out such a purpose, on whom Elisha's prophetic glance could have fallen. He had been among the young horsemen who had ridden two and two in brilliant procession behind Ahab, when Elijah's voice of thunder had announced to him in Jezreel the approach of the divine doom upon him for the murder of Naboth.[3] On Jehu, that moment had plainly made an impression which nothing could efface. But with all the dissimulation and subtle cunning[4] of a thorough Israelite, he had so effectively concealed from his royal masters the thoughts that were seething within him, that Jehoram still relied entirely upon his loyalty. He was now probably about

[1] 2 Kings viii. 28–x. 28, by the older narrator.
[2] P. 94.
[3] 2 Kings ix. 25 sq.
[4] 2 Kings ix. 15-22, x. 1–10, 18–25, comp. with the remarks iii. p. 62.

forty years old; respected among his fellow-officers, accustomed to command and be obeyed with strictness; but there still glowed in him all the fire of youth. Everyone knew his impetuous riding and driving,[1] in which he stood alone in the whole army; but while he was capable of the most irresistible vehemence and stormy haste, he equally well understood how to follow up his purpose with cold craft and daring cunning; and it was the close union of these opposite means which supplied him with his most terrible weapon.

The disciple of the prophets executed his commission with the suddenness of a bird on the wing. This unexpected coming and going, the rapid kindling of a flame on the already heated ground, a spirit agency seemingly from another world,—these were obviously in those days of persecution characteristic of the successors of Elijah. He found Jehu in the midst of his brother officers, who were probably holding a council of war. He led him apart 'chamber in chamber,' i.e. to the innermost room of the house, hastily explained to him his commission from Elisha, anointed him, and disappeared, as if fleeing from the sight of men. When Jehu came out again, his comrades were almost afraid the 'mad man' might have done him some harm. Questioned about his strange visitor, he replied that they must surely be already aware who it was and what he came for; but when they asserted that they were not, he at once explained to them what had taken place, and as though they had long since lost all real trust in Jehoram's royal dignity, and were now suddenly seized with the same spirit which they saw beaming upon Jehu's countenance, they immediately saluted him publicly as king, and, in token of their homage,[2] cast their garments without further delay on the steps of the house from which he was about to come forth. With swift determination he took the next step necessary; requested them on no account to allow any person whatever to quit the town, to prevent the fatal news reaching Jehoram too soon; mounted his chariot, accompanied only by his old companion in arms Bidkar, whom he appointed captain of his body-guard, and, armed with his bow, drove in violent haste to Jezreel.

Jehoram had been lying there for some weeks ill of his wounds, and the young king Ahaziah had arrived at the palace from Jerusalem on a visit to the royal invalid.[3] The warder on

[1] 2 Kings ix. 20.

[2] As in Matt. xxi. 7 sq.

[3] It might appear from 2 Kings viii. 28 as though Ahaziah had joined Jehoram in his campaign; but this is contrary to the evidence of the other passages, ver. 29, ix. 14, 16. The particle אֶת, therefore, after וַיֵּלֶךְ, viii. 28, should be struck out, although the false reading had already determined the representation in

the tower observed at a distance the furious approach of Jehu, but did not yet recognise him personally; and by order of Jehoram he sent out a single horseman to meet him, and learn whether he were coming with peaceful or with hostile intent. Jehu threateningly directed him to remain behind, treated a second who followed him in the same way, and continued his course without stopping. The warder reported to the king the third time what was going on, adding this time that judging by the mad driving it must be Jehu. The king, accordingly, having no suspicion of any harm, had his chariot got ready, and, accompanied by Ahaziah, drove out himself to meet him. The two chariots met just by what had formerly been the vineyard of Naboth. After a few words had been exchanged, Jehoram perceived the evil purpose of his general, and turned his chariot and fled, but he was hit in the back by an arrow of Jehu's, and immediately sank down in the car and died. Then Jehu reminded his companion how they had once, when riding side by side in Ahab's suite, heard the word of Elijah about Naboth, and how the threat then uttered was now being fulfilled: and bid him throw the body upon this very field. Ahaziah fled in the same chariot, and in the hope of more easily escaping, took the side road westwards to Megiddo. In the meantime, however, Jehu's train was swollen with a crowd of persons who rejoiced in the fall of the house of Ahab; he bid them not spare even its kinsmen of Judah; and so Ahaziah was wounded behind the pavilion on the hill Gur before the town of Ibleam.[1] He succeeded, indeed, in reaching Megiddo, but there he died; and his body was subsequently carried to Jerusalem by his servants to be interred in the royal sepulchre.[2] Jehu himself hastened with the same wild fury on to Jezreel, and was admitted into the city. The aged Jezebel thought she had to deal with another Zimri,[3] and so before he could reach the palace she adorned herself with all her seductive charms, then placed herself at the window, and addressed the frenzied Jehu on his entrance, as if it would not come amiss to her to share with him the palace and its glories. He, however, shouted out with his voice of thunder that whoever was on his side should appear at the window: two or three eunuchs at once presented themselves; he called

2 Chron. xx. ii. 5. The error was occasioned by uniting viii. 28 sq. too closely wth the preceding verses, while it really begins an entirely new narrative.

[1] If Megiddo is the same as the present Legio (Lejjûn), as Robinson assumes with much probability, the situation of Ibleam, about which he is entirely silent, is determined from the passage under consideration. Further, in ix. 27, ויכהו has fallen out after הכהו, and והוא after מרכבה.

[2] The account in 2 Chron. xxii. 8 sq. differs in some details, but is not to be preferred to the older narrative.

[3] P. 36.

to them to throw down Jezebel, and forthwith he was able to tread under his own feet her bloody corpse. Some time later, however, after he had banqueted in the palace, he gave orders that she should be buried as a king's daughter; but only a few remains were then to be found of her body, and the threat of Elijah that the dogs should tear her corpse upon the field of Jezreel[1] seemed to be terribly fulfilled.

In accordance with the example of previous founders of new dynasties in this kingdom, Jehu's next step was to destroy all the numerous members of the house of Ahab. The younger ones, the sons of Jehoram, and perhaps of some of his kinsmen, about seventy in all, were living in Samaria under the care of influential persons who were charged with their education. Jehu, accordingly, wrote to the chief officers of the kingdom, the elders of the city and the tutors of the princes, with the mocking exhortation to them to set up one of them as king and fight for him, since they had plenty of chariots and horses, a fortified city, and a well-provided arsenal at command. In dread of the conqueror of two kings and aware that the army was on his side, they declared their submission, upon which he immediately demanded the heads of the seventy princes. They were sent to him to Jezreel, and publicly exposed in two rows, when he addressed the people who crowded to gaze at them in words which doubtless expressed his own deep emotion in such a moment: 'now was all guilt against God taken off their heads, for the really guilty had paid the penalty in a marvellous way, all, with the exception of the king, not by his own, but by others' hands: thus was the ruin of the house of Ahab, predicted in days past by Elijah, divinely fulfilled.'[2] Encouraged by the success of all his undertakings so far, he now put to death all the confidential friends and priests of Jehoram, as well as the kindred of the house of Ahab in Jezreel, and set off for the same purpose to Samaria. On the way, however, at Betheked,[3] he came across forty-two of Ahaziah's relatives, who had

[1] The use of the word חֶלְקַת for field, as well as generally for the land of a city, 2 Kings ix. 10, 36 sq., is rare, and probably peculiar to the northern provinces; but it makes it all the more certain that we have here a genuine utterance of Elijah; and חֵל, which stands for it in 1 Kings xxi. 23, although it was the reading of the LXX, can only have arisen from it by an error, for it is difficult to assume that it was derived from it by abbreviation and is equivalent to it.

[2] In 2 Kings x. 1, ישראל should be read for יזרעאל; cf. ver. 5. How the number reached seventy, is explained in my *Alterthümer*, p. 284 sqq.

[3] A place named Βαιθακάδ, as the LXX spelt it, was still known in this district by the Fathers; it might suggest the present village of Beitkâd, which Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. p. 316, ed. 1856) places in the district between Jezreel and Samaria, though he only doubtfully fixes its locality on the map; the locality he does fix would have been too far to the east to be on the direct road.

probably been sent off by Athaliah from Jerusalem, on the first report of the great disturbances in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, to render any assistance they could to the house of Ahab in its troubles. Jehu had them all killed, and thrown into the village well. He next lighted on Jonadab,[1] addressed him with a friendly salutation, and as they quickly came to an understanding in their mutual zeal against Baal-worship, he took him with him in his chariot.

In Samaria itself he acted at first as if he intended to exterminate only those nearly connected with the house of Ahab. After he had succeeded in this, he proclaimed a great festival of Baal, at which all the prophets, priests, and worshippers of Baal were to be present; and certainly it might be presumed that the new king, after extirpating the preceding dynasty, intended to follow its example of easy devotion to the religion of Baal. An enormous crowd, accordingly, assembled on the appointed day in the spacious halls of the temple of Baal. Jehu, accompanied by Jonadab, took care that the festival should be celebrated with all the splendour which would only be lavished by any potentate upon mysteries into which he desired to be initiated. He gave orders that robes[2] suitable for the solemnity should be distributed to all who were not already provided. When the moment drew near for the celebration of the mysteries, he cried aloud, in accordance with heathen usage, with the utmost earnestness, that all worshippers of Jahveh should be cast out.[3] He even went so far as to sacrifice with his own hand, as though he were the most zealous of Baal's adorers. But, at a given signal, eighty of the bravest soldiers burst in, cut everyone down, and cast out the corpses without burial. They then made their way into the inner sanctuary, the enclosure of which rose like a lofty fortress,[4] where Baal sat securely fenced in, surrounded by the images of his fellow-gods.

[1] P. 79.

[2] It was probably the well-known sacred robe of the Phœnicians, described in Herodian, v. 5, *ad fin.*, and Silius Ital. iii. 24–27; cf. also W. Hupfeld's *Res Lydiorum*, i. p. 58 sq., Chwolson's *Ssabier*, ii. p. 712 sq. For similar occurrences in mysteries at the present day in Africa, see *Ausland*, 1851, p. 248.

[3] It is well known how much importance was attached in the heathen mysteries to the *procul profani!* cf. the practice in the Tyrian temple of Hercules at Gades, Sil. Ital. iii. 21 sqq.

[4] It is plain that עִיר, 2 Kings x. 25, must mean much the same as the Holy of Holies; it is true this expression was commonly only used of the temple of Baal; the possibility of it, however, becomes intelligible when it is remembered (1) that עִיר originally means 'fortress,' see notes on Micah v. 10, Jer. xlviii. 8, and the remark ii. p. 382; and (2) that the image of the heathen god often stood in a lofty and dark enclosure within the temple resembling a fortress. The expression עִיר וְהַב שֶׁל, *golden crown*, Mishna Sabbath v. 1, is also noteworthy.—The worship of the gods allied with Baal was also provided for in the temple of Baal at Jerusalem, 2 Kings xi. 18.

These were all burned; the great stone statue of Baal, which originally stood in front of the temple, was shattered; the whole temple was razed to the ground, and its site defiled for ever. Everywhere the new king sought with equal severity to root out the lingering remains of Baal-worship which might be discovered in other parts of the realm.

We have no longer, unfortunately, any details of Elisha's meeting with the new king, or of what he said to him. But his wishes had now been essentially carried out: and we always find him occupying a high position in the regard of the new dynasty.

On the kingdom of Judah the murder of its king and the greater number of the grown-up members of its royal house immediately entailed further lamentable consequences. Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab,[1] mother of the murdered king, followed up the death of her son by destroying all the rest of the males belonging to the royal family; and it was only with difficulty that a single son of the late king, not yet a year old, was saved. The motive of this frantic deed is no doubt to be looked for, partly in internal dissensions, of which we have no longer any information, though the nature of them may be conjectured from Athaliah's decided inclinations towards heathenism, but chiefly in the great power enjoyed by a queen-mother,[2] which Athaliah was afraid of losing if the murdered sovereign should be succeeded by a more distant relative; for she had herself no other son.[3] Such a deed, however, could only have been conceived and executed in the midst of the convulsions into which Jehu had precipitated both kingdoms.

IV. Higher Conception of Elijah.

Once more, then, the kingdom of the Ten Tribes had been the scene of a most energetic revolt on the part of the spirit of the ancient religion against the intrusion of a foreign heathen cultus; and the object which Elijah had not completely succeeded in achieving, was now accomplished. By one of the most violent of revolutions, the state was once more set free from the serious errors and perplexities into which it had been plunged; it was once more driven back to its condition at its foundation, so far indeed as any kingdom can be put back to its own origin. And in Jehu, whose warlike arm was alone capable of becoming the instrument of such a revolution, one of the Judges seemed to have come again; just so unexpected was his

[1] P. 95. [2] Vol. iii. p. 272. [3] This follows from what was said p. 94 sq.

appearance, just so irresistible the might with which, like a giant, he struggled for the cause of Jahveh. This great difference, however, characterised the two situations; he had not to contend like the ancient heroes against external enemies of the sacred cause, but against its far more dangerous internal foes. The crimes by which this revolution gained a shameful distinction could have been with difficulty avoided, partly because of the nature of the ancient state-religion (as it has been already described),[1] partly on account of the deeper roots which heathenism and the rule of the house of Omri had at that time struck in both kingdoms; moreover, in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, such outrages were no novelty. Hence nothing can be more incorrect than the assertion that Elisha, when he sent to anoint Jehu, did not foresee or consent to the sacrifice of so many lives; he could not have looked into the future with so little discernment, although he certainly had not (like a Roman *proscriptor*) designated beforehand any individuals as victims. Nor, as we have said, is it in the least probable that Elisha condemned the outrages after their perpetration. But the less patent evils which are involved in every violent revolution, and were especially connected with the atrocities of this one, appeared, as we shall see hereafter, with constantly increasing force, and made their true nature more and more deeply felt.

1. With the progress of time the conception of a phenomenon so extraordinary as Elijah's career on the one hand acquired greater clearness, and on the other, gradually increased in strength and assumed more gigantic proportions;[2] and there were two leading truths which were firmly established in it. In the first place, it was not till then that it became really clear that it was Elijah alone who impressed upon the whole of the great movement and revolution which it was left for his successors to complete, its inward impulse and its higher necessity; and hence it might easily appear that he himself with his powerful spirit had achieved the greatest of those results which historical accuracy assigns to his successors. Important kingdoms, Israel and Damascus, were in this period overturned and erected; the destinies of Israel were

[1] Vol. iii. p. 288 sq.

[2] The two things are very closely connected. First of all, the view of a great career can only acquire general clearness when it is already past, and men perceive in corresponding representations the reality of its marvellous greatness. If, in the next place, the object, as soon as it presents itself to the mind in all its greatness, really is unusually great, it goes on growing, with the active development of the representation, into gigantic proportions, so as to arrive at the highest possible expression of which it is capable. The records of Christ in the New Testament reproduce in the loftiest form this characteristic (among numerous others) of the career of Elijah.

completely in the hands of the prophets of Elijah's school, and even Damascus paid reverent attention to their voice; yet with all the variety, the greatness, the marvellous nature of the events of this age, it was in the memory of the giant spirit of Elijah as their true originator that they found their divine explanation and their higher unity. But in the second place, men began to realise equally forcibly how great were the evils of every description which marked the conclusion of the whole period, although blessings instead of woes might have been expected to follow the labours of so great a prophet; so that when the question arose why the era of which Elijah had been the moving spirit closed amid such severe calamities, the answer could only be found in the failure of the men whom he had benefited and whom he might have benefited still more, to receive him as they should have done. Upon the basis of these two truths the whole history of Elijah and his age is reconstructed by a narrator whose own spirit is not far behind that of his great subject in purity and elevation, and who is able to employ a marvellously creative genius in presenting the most sublime prophetic truths.[1] He evidently made use of older narratives and records which extended over the whole period;[2] but, carried away by a genuinely poetic as well as prophetic inspiration, he sheds on every detail the light and warmth of the highest truths alone, and the result is a new conception of the whole, in which

[1] Namely, the composer of the passages 1 Kings xvii.–xix., 2 Kings ii. 1–18; see the remarks above, pp. 63, 68.

[2] One example still enables us to prove this clearly by a closer comparison of the twelve narratives of Elisha (p. 85 sqq.) with these passages. We have only to bear in mind, first of all, that these two passages are composed by totally different persons, in spite of a certain connexion between their contents. Both generally and in particular, great differences of language are here and there to be found, if really decisive examples are looked for; for the recurrence of special expressions arises from the use of common sources. Flights of pure verse in the middle of the narrative like 1 Kings xvii. 16 are very suitable to this narrator, who conceives everything from a poetical elevation, but do not occur even at the introduction of the word of God in the Elisha-narratives. Similarly in the Elijah-fragments three is the regular round number and seven is rare (1 Kings xviii. 43); conversely, in the other passages seven is invariably used. But if the two authors are distinct, there is further every reason to believe that the Elisha-narratives, at any rate, as they came from the first composer described above, are older than the Elijah-narrative. For the twelve Elisha-narratives stand apart individually distinct, and have therefore remained to that extent more simple; while the Elijah-narrative has been artificially reconstituted on the basis of older accounts. The former, therefore, describe the separate miracles more circumstantially and pictorially, indicate in every case the external means of which Elisha availed himself, and do not elevate the reader to such dizzy heights as the Elijah-narrative. These relations render it unmistakably clear that the narrative of the two miracles which are brought into such close connection in 1 Kings xvii. 10–16, rests on the basis of the third and sixth narratives in the Elisha-cycle (p. 85 sq.); and a similar connexion becomes further probable between the story in 1 Kings xvii. 17–24 and the fourth Elisha-narrative. We observed a similar relation, p. 82, in the case of the name 'chariot of Israel and its horsemen;' and it is better to treat the expression 1 Kings xviii. 29, cf. ver. 26, as a recollection of 2 Kings iv. 31, than the reverse.

the noblest and most lasting elements of the age are firmly incorporated and reflected with imperishable splendour. Himself one of the greatest of the prophets of the old covenant, Elijah finds in this writer a portrayer of proportionate elevation, and the passages which proceed from his hand are among the most sublime in the whole range of the Old Testament. The form of his representation is determined solely by the great forces and antagonisms in operation, Jahveism and Baalism, true and false prophetism, prophetism and monarchy, heaven and earth; and every limitation of lower historical matter is removed.

It is true only a few fragments remain to us of his unique work: but these describe, on the one hand, the true meridian of the sun of Elijah's life when all its beams blend in the most brilliant light, and, on the other, its serene setting in this life only to rise mysteriously in the next; and it may perhaps be permitted to us to estimate the value of what is lost by the importance of what is preserved, the beauty of which, indeed, stimulates us to attempt to restore as far as possible the entire work.

1) It would probably commence somewhat as follows. A crime of unexampled heinousness, which Ahab made no attempt to prevent, has been committed by Jezebel. She has not only introduced the worship of Baal, but she has also destroyed the altars of Jahveh, and murdered the prophets who had so long been persecuted. Only one of them is left, Elijah; but he has long ago received from Jahveh, on his consecration to the prophetic office, the promise that no man should have power to harm him and that he need fear no one save Jahveh; and so in the midst of all the persecutions, while others hid themselves, he publicly displayed his constant zeal for Jahveh, unmolested and borne about as it were by Jahveh's wind. But now the great blow has been struck; the altars of Jahveh are all overthrown, his prophets are all slain; and, as though the whole creation were compelled to mourn such horrors, Jahveh commands the rain to abstain from falling in blessing upon men for many years. Deep and dreadful stillness broods over all. The prophets of Baal cannot draw from their idol the least alleviation of their great need; and Elijah has already received from Jahveh the command to hide himself altogether when he has once more reminded the king of the truth.

So Elijah appears (and here begins the narrative preserved to us) before Ahab, to proclaim to him that neither dew nor rain should thereafter come upon the earth except according to

his word (i.e. according to the word of Jahveh, whose solitary representative he was now become); and Ahab is left alone with this threat pointing to a still more dreadful future, in the midst of his country's misery.—Elijah retires altogether from the busy haunts of men; he is, however, not only sustained himself by the divine help during this long and sultry time, but he is also miraculously empowered to sustain the lives of others. The spirit first calls him into the wilderness east of the Jordan to the brook Cherith,[1] where by divine command morning and evening the ravens bring him bread, and where he drinks of the water of the wasting brook. When even this supply dries up, it calls him just in the opposite direction to Sarepta in Sidon,[2] where a poor widow whom he asks for water fetches it for him, and, when he further asks for bread, would gladly give him that too, did she not fear she would soon consume the last piece left with her son. But at that moment she learns, to her amazement, that to the truly pious who joyfully sacrifice a part even of their last piece, that very morsel may become an inexhaustible source of new life,—that this little barrel of meal and cruse of oil shall remain undiminished for all those for whom God wills it so. He even restores the son of the widow in whose house he dwelt, when sick to death. She complains, in her trouble and perplexity, that the holy man has only come to her abode to descry her secret sins, and so rouse against her house the anger of God; but he proves to her, on the contrary, how the work and prayer of the righteous may have power to give and to preserve life.

2) At length in the third year[3] Ahab has been sufficiently punished to be submitted to a new trial. In the meantime, mindful of the deep significance of Elijah's parting threat, he has sought for him everywhere to move him to retract what was now being only too severely fulfilled, has sent to all kingdoms and countries, and required of them an assurance or oath that they could not find him; but all his labour has been in vain. At last, however, when a severe famine visits Samaria, Elijah is

[1] That this brook flowed east of the Jordan in a district which was probably at that time heathen, is clearly implied in the context of the words and of the story; and it is consequently impossible to look for it with Robinson (*Bib. Res.* i. p. 558) and Burchard (in Laurent's *Peregrinatores*, vii. 32) in the Wâdi Kelt near Jericho, or with Vandervelde (*Syr. and Pal.* ii. p. 310 sq.), in accordance with a common belief of earlier date, in the well of Phasael much farther to the north. The LXX spell the name Χαρράθ.—That the ravens convey from distant spots many articles of human food, is a notion of primitive antiquity.

[2] In the Middle Ages two towns of this name were distinguished, see Wilbrand in Laurent's *Peregrinatores*, pp. 165, 183; cf. also Osborne's *Palæstina*, p. 178 sqq.

[3] Namely, after Elijah had parted from Ahab; that the drought lasted altogether three years and a half (James v. 17, Luke iv. 25) is probably a fragment of the fuller original account; cf. p. 103 sq.

commissioned to present himself before Ahab, and try him by bestowing the heavenly blessing which Jahveh purposes to grant through him. Ahab and Obadiah, the principal officer of his court, have undertaken between them to search throughout the country in all the valleys and by all the wells for any fodder that might remain for the languishing cattle. Then Elijah encounters Obadiah, and requires him to announce his coming to Ahab. Obadiah is at first terrified at such a commission, fearing that Elijah may repeat his former practice and make himself entirely invisible again before Ahab can find him out; and then all the king's anger will fall on him for having hidden him, since he was known to be a worshipper of Jahveh, and once before had kept a hundred prophets concealed. However, upon Elijah's declaration of his determination to appear before Ahab, Obadiah informs the king; and, when the first unfriendliness of the meeting with Elijah is past, Ahab expresses his readiness to permit a public contest with the prophets of Baal, which is to prove that Jahveh alone is able to relieve the great distress of the land.—The contest takes place on Carmel,[1] and the immediate point on which it turns is simply the power to draw down fire from heaven to kindle the proper sacrifice for the deity. The whole description of it, therefore, depends upon the ancient popular belief formerly referred to;[2] and its peculiar form is due solely to the fact that the opposition between the great champion of Jahveh and the prophets of Baal represents at the same time, not without a certain grim humour, the opposition implied in the respective origins of the two religions. Those who do not direct their thoughts and their labours to the true God may build the altar and prepare the sacrifice, may loudly invoke their deity, and their exertions may increase in violence and frenzy as one after another proves fruitless, as though any blessing were ever to be wrested from heaven by defying it; but with all their pains and all their fury they cannot draw down from heaven that fire which they seek, and which alone can reward their efforts with success. It was otherwise with Elijah. With twelve stones, the sacred number, he rebuilds the altar of Jahveh, which, like every other in the kingdom, has been destroyed, calmly prepares the sacrifice, offers a fervent prayer, and beholds the heavenly fire consume the offering. Such a triumph before the assembled people im-

[1] The place where Elijah must have sacrificed is now called *Mochraqah*, or better مُحْرَقَة, i.e. *Burnt-offering-place*; a detailed description of these localities is to be found in Vandervelde's *Syr. and Pal.* i. p. 320 sqq.; cf. Tristram's *Land of Israel*, p. 115 sqq., 636.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 246.

mediately converts them, and with their aid he overpowers the prophets of Baal, and slays them at the brook Kishon, on the north of Carmel. He then requires Ahab to eat once more of the sacrificial meat offered to Jahveh to renew his strength, for the rain so ardently longed for was coming soon; with firm trust he sends his messenger to the mountain top to announce the approach, which is every moment made more certain, of the storm from the far west; recommends Ahab to drive to Jezreel before the rain prevents him; and, when it really falls, carried away with the fresh impetus of divine energy, he runs on foot before the king, and meets him at the entrance to Jezreel, in order to take measures with him for consummating throughout the realm the victory he had just won on Carmel.

3) As soon, however, as the tidings of these events reach Jezebel, she sends him the stern message that he shall be a dead man if he be found the next day in the kingdom. This proves the great crisis in the destinies of the whole age.[1] For this threat Elijah was not prepared, least of all in the moment when he had achieved the victory. Hitherto, he had worked in the belief that his life, at any rate, was inviolable, for he was the last of the prophets of Jahveh; now, he sees nothing before him in the kingdom but the immediate fall even of this last prophet soul, the ruin of that great career of triumph which had been just commenced, the final destruction of the whole religion of Jahveh. His human feelings are too deeply moved; he hurries as if in despair to Beersheba in the extreme south of Judah, and, leaving his servant here behind him, hastens in the same direction a day's journey further on into the wilderness. There he sinks to sleep, longing only for death. And there an angel touches him, bidding him renew his strength with the food sent to him from heaven; he does so and again falls asleep, when the angel touches him a second time that he may eat again, because he will have far to go. And now at length clearly understanding what he has to do, he collects his strength for the forty days' journey through the great wilderness [2] to Sinai itself, there in the supreme sanctity of this ancient

[1] Thus it was not the murder of Naboth which formed, in the view of this narrator, the turning-point of the whole history of the age. There were other narrators, on the other hand, who did thus regard this second prominent defect in Ahab's career, such as the narrator of 1 Kings xx.–xxii., who nowhere else attempts so lofty and powerful a representation; cf. p. 74 sq.

[2] The whole representation in 1 Kings xix. 4–8, has evidently been modelled upon such narratives as Gen. xvi. xxi. 15–19, and certain reminiscences from the history of Moses, just as in 1 Kings xviii. 31 is a verbal repetition from Gen. xxxv. 10; and the numerous allusions to visions xix. 5–7, 9 recall the patriarchal history.

home of the true religion to bring before its everlasting Lord his grievous complaint beneath which his whole soul is sinking, in the darkness which shrouded him and all his age to behold His light, and in the enigma which no man could solve, to perceive His voice.—And behold, he receives what he seeks, yet not without a great and new experience, and not without some shame. And so the manner in which, on arriving at the sacred spot which he had never visited before, he is admitted, as it were, to an audience with the supreme Ruler of the universe, so that he obtains a new declaration of the loftiest kind,—all this is described just like the audience of some far-travelled subject who might arrive at the court of a great potentate of the time. First of all the complaint must be presented, and it must be decided whether the complainant shall have access to the supreme Lord himself or not. And so Elijah, as he passes the first night in the cave [1] at the foot of the mountain, is asked in a dream what he wants, and when he brings forward his grievous complaint, receives directions whither he is to go (namely, to the summit of the mountain), and *how* he shall there behold and hear him whom he seeks, and whom he has never before seen so near and so fully in his glory and brightness.[2] He obeys this direction, and with deep reverence goes to meet him whom he seeks. At the proper place he repeats his complaint, and then receives from the true Lord and Arbiter an answer indeed, but it is an answer which fills him with astonishment. Not in gloomy despair and loneliness is he to end his life; in the midst of the great world, on the contrary, he is to accomplish Jahveh's will. But since it has now been fully proved that this age is incapable of real improvement, and is consequently unworthy

Certainly the greatness of Elijah is in many respects on a level with that of the Patriarchs and Moses; but the conception and description of it by this narrator in its present form was only rendered possible after the main features of the Primitive History had received their present shape. It is further, of course, obvious that this does not throw the remotest doubt on the journey of Elijah to Sinai; cf. p. 68.

[1] This was, of course, the cave in which pilgrims to Sinai at that time usually rested.

[2] The celebrated words 1 Kings xix. 11 sq. can only be correctly understood as the description how Jahveh will appear to Elijah and how he will speak to him. His passing by is at first announced in the furthest distance by a most violent storm, but *that* is not yet *himself*; purer then and nearer by thunder and earthquake; but *that* is not yet himself: purest of all, by fire (as in the thunderstorm Ps. xviii. 18, Hab. iii. 4), but even *that* is not yet himself; and only in the small rustle which follows, in the purest spirit-utterance, does he reveal himself, and to that let man listen! (similarly Job iv. 16, xxvi. 14); it is evident, therefore, that what is announced in ver. 11 sq. is to take place afterwards; but for the sake of brevity it is understood and not actually related after ver. 14 that Elijah had seen and heard Jahveh in that way; ver. 11 sq. simply give him directions for the moment of the revelation itself. The meaning sometimes placed on these words is not to be found in them when properly treated; though they certainly contain the truth that the spiritual manifestation of Jahveh is the only true revelation.

of immediate deliverance, he is to anoint Hazael king of the Arameans, Jehu king of Israel, and Elisha as his own successor,—three men who, with all their differences, resembled each other in the unrestrainable force and the unsparing severity with which they chastised Israel, and who contributed to bring on a new era for the northern kingdom, though it was by means of the most terrible and merited strokes of divine punishment. With that commission, then, Elijah is to be satisfied; yet shall there remain (it is added in conclusion) a thousand true worshippers of Jahveh as the indestructible root of a new and better age;[1] so little need is there for Elijah to despair, and to dread that his downfall will involve that of God's kingdom.

4) This is the culminating point of Elijah's history, and opens out a view over the succession of events, till the era of the rule of the house of Jehu. The violence of the subsequent disasters of every description, the career of so harsh a prophet as Elisha, the numerous victories of the Arameans after the rise of their new power, the fall of the house of Omri by the ruthless arm of Jehu,—all this is conceived in this divine survey of the course of events as an inevitable consequence of rejecting a prophet who had displayed such greatness and achieved such triumphs as Elijah. We cannot help, therefore, regretting that the elevated representation of this narrator is here broken off, and we are not told how Elijah executed his commissions in reference to Hazael and Jehu. That the author had described this also with his usual freedom of style admits of no doubt.[2]

5) But we still possess the sublime representation by the same narrator of the departure of Elijah from the scene of his earthly labours, although the first part is no longer quite complete. An earthly career unequalled in that age in the purity of its devotion to the service of Jahveh, and at the same time consummated in such powerful efforts to promote the kingdom of God, can only have a corresponding close. It ceases before the eyes of men, only to be taken up into the realm of pure spirit, that is to heaven, there to carry on its work with less disturbance and with greater power; and at that moment

[1] The great prophets of the eighth century speak in precisely the same way of an imperishable 'remnant;' and all indications prove that this narrator cannot have lived before the end of the eighth or the first half of the seventh century. We shall be most correct in supposing that he did not write till after the poet of the book of Job; for not only the expression mentioned p. 108 *note* 2, but also that in 2 Kings ii. 11, cf. Job xxxviii. 1, xl. 6, presupposes the peculiar language of the book of Job; for whatever be the elevation of our narrator, yet the creative genius of the poet of the book of Job must be pronounced greater.

[2] To say that the passages 2 Kings viii. 7–15, ix. sq. originally belonged to 1 Kings xix. 15–18, and are really from the same hand, is to make out the Old Testament worse than it is.

heaven itself descends to earth, to take to itself that spirit which is already entirely its own. And so a fiery chariot with fiery horses comes down from heaven, and bears Elijah in the tempest up to heaven. This daring expression is simply the effort to utter clearly the eternal truth of this thought. But it is worthy of remark that it nowhere occurs in an earlier age; in the whole range of the Old Testament it is never even used of Moses, because the representations which we have of his life in the Old Testament are relatively older; and the first to employ it is this creative narrator, who did not live before the first half of the seventh century,[1] that is, at least two centuries after Elijah.[2] And it is further to be observed, that this bold symbol remains here in all its simplicity and brevity; while, on the other hand, later writers venture to paint its mysteries with more detail.

Only one point appears a proper subject for further description, in what way an Elijah takes leave of his friends on earth, and they of him; and it is this which most calls for more definite portrayal, though we are still able to form an adequate idea of it.—As the moment draws near when a Saint like Elijah is to be taken from the earth (and the approach of such a moment makes itself mysteriously felt, just as in this instance it was known beforehand to all the prophets), it effectually divides those who had hitherto passed as his adherents and friends; the great mass of them draw back with timid want of faith; only a few remain faithful to the end; and these alone receive the blessing and the spirit of the Saint whom the earth shall behold no more. And so Elijah, knowing better than any how near was his earthly end, accompanied by Elisha, goes from Gilgal to Bethel, to visit once more this ancient sanctuary of Israel, the spiritual centre of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. He charges Elisha to remain behind in Gilgal; but he, perhaps with a presentiment of what is impending, will not be induced to leave him; and when the disciples of the prophets in Bethel remind him with warning looks of his master's approaching departure, he keeps aloof, and bids them hold their peace. From Bethel Elijah pursues his course to Jericho; and a second proof is given of Elisha's fidelity and the contrast be-

[1] Pp. 107 *note* 2, 109 *note* 1.

[2] The image of the fiery chariot with fiery horses arose out of a combination of the expression of primitive antiquity about Enoch (Gen. v. 24), which seemed to require supplementing, with the representation of the cherubs; after, that is, this premosaic conception of the cherubs had gradually mingled with that of the heavenly hosts (יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת). The same expression is used with greater purity of the heavenly hosts alone, 2 Kings vi. 16 sq., but all such ancient images gradually became more and more mixed up together.

tween him and the ordinary disciples of the prophets. But Elijah's journey is not ended; he must cross the Jordan, and again he desires Elisha to remain in Jericho; for the third time the latter proves his pure devotion, while fifty of the disciples of the prophets only look on from a distance, curious to see what will take place. Elijah rolls up his mantle as into a staff, and smites the Jordan with it as in the days of old Moses smote the Red Sea; and the floods obediently divide, and suffer the two to cross.[1] It is the beginning of the end. The master bids the disciple who alone has stood the test, ask some gift of him while there is yet time; and he, bold at the right moment, asks for two-thirds of the spirit of the departing master. Elijah promises him that this hard request shall be fulfilled upon condition that he sees him clearly and distinctly in the last moment of separation. For none but he whose eye and mind are still clear and firm in the terrors of the final crisis, is truly capable of receiving that divine blessing which is already close at hand. While they are still speaking, Elijah is carried up. Elisha gazes without shrinking, and looks upon a glory such as he had never seen; he mourns, it is true, with the bitterness of mourning for the dead, but at the same moment he lifts up the fallen mantle of Elijah, at once makes trial of its unique power, and recrosses the Jordan as he had crossed it. On seeing this, the disciples of the prophets at Jericho pay him the homage they had before rendered to Elijah; but so little are they capable of believing in Elijah's ascension that in spite of Elisha's efforts to prevent them they send out fifty men to look for him everywhere over mountain and valley; and nothing but the fruitlessness of their search forces these unbelievers to believe.[2]

2. After the history of Elijah had once been lifted up to this elevation, its further development carried it even beyond the standard here attained, so that the representation of this prophet assumed more and more gigantic proportions, but at the same time became more and more rigid and lifeless; and thus it gradually ceased to be available as a pattern of human action. The Old Testament contains a passage of this kind[3] in the

[1] This representation also (2 Kings ii. 8) only became possible after the narratives Ex. xiv. Josh. iii. sq. had received their present form; and, as in the case of Moses, Nebo is probably meant as the place of his end.

[2] The resemblance between this and the narratives in John xx. is obvious; although the similarity need not be the result of any outward influence. The end of Kai-Chosrev in the Shahnâmeh is again similar.

[3] 2 Kings i. 2–16. That this narrative is not from the same composer as the foregoing, is clear both from the intrinsic difference, and also from the difference

representation of Elijah's behaviour to the sick king Ahaziah.[1] The description on the one hand of the difficulty of approaching and the impossibility of constraining the giant prophet, and on the other hand of the fire which he was able to draw down from heaven, exhibits so much exaggeration above the much simpler form already explained,[2] that it reads almost like an Indian Brahmanic tale of the performances of a *Yógin*. Ahaziah sent messengers to enquire of the heathen god, and, before they could accomplish their object, they were turned back by an unknown personage with the stern words, 'Is it because there is no longer any God in Israel that ye will enquire of the Fly-god in Ekron?' and the speaker went on to announce the approaching death of the sick king as a divine punishment for this offence. Then the king, who knew from certain sure signs that it was Elijah, was very wroth, and immediately sent an officer with some soldiers to fetch him, and (of course) to execute him. But as the officer and his troop proceed to carry out the king's order, the prophet, from the mountain top where he is seated immovable, commands the heavenly fire to descend and consume them all, and it comes to pass. A second time the same thing happens. The inviolability of the prophet is thus sufficiently attested, and when a third officer comes to execute the royal order, with deep humility and entreaties for mercy, the same angel who had thus far guided Elijah's conduct, directs him to present himself without fear before the king, and openly repeat to him the same announcement which he had formerly made only to the messenger. He does so, and the king dies according to his word.

The existence of another and perhaps still later work in which the career of Elijah was described, is proved by the passage in the Chronicles,[3] which speaks of a letter being sent by Elijah to Jehoram king of Judah, blaming and threatening him for his evil life: for it is certain that the whole of this story must have been found by the Chronicler in some earlier book. We might be tempted to imagine that Elijah was supposed to send the letter from heaven, as it is uncertain[4] whether he was still alive during the reign of this Jehoram. But the words do not contain any indication of its being from heaven

of the language about the descent of the heavenly fire, 1 Kings xviii. 38 and 2 Kings i. 1–14. That the two passages contain divergent conceptions of Elijah's outward appearance, has been already explained, p. 68 *note* 3. On the other hand, this passage may proceed from the second author of the twelve Elisha-narratives, since a close relationship may be perceived between their style and language. Instead of Elijah's mantle, he represents a staff as playing the same part, 2 Kings iv. 29 sq.

[1] P. 77 sq. [2] P. 106.
[3] 2 Chron. xxi. 12–15.
[4] Pp. 78, 94 sqq.

(besides, no such thing occurs anywhere else in the Old Testament); and if we accept the chronology already explained,[1] it would be possible for the prophet to have been still alive while this prince was king of Judah. But we do not find elsewhere that Elijah or Elisha ever carried on their work by means of writing: and the fact that the narrative is thus out of keeping with the older accounts, and the want of anything especially characteristic in the letter itself,[2] indicate that the work from which the Chronicler derived his information was of very late date. Perhaps this was the same work about Elijah and Elisha as that of which fragments of the beginning have been preserved,[3] representing, in accordance with well-known ancient examples, how their very birth was attended by omens of all their future greatness.

3. But it was the ascension of Elijah which was the favourite subject in later times for the accretion of fresh stories and ideas. He now ranked with Enoch, or, as others made out, with Moses,[4] and was supposed to continue in heaven a mysterious life which no death had ever interrupted, and therefore to be ready at any time to return to earth.[5] Moreover, a life thus continuous must extend before as well as after its earthly career: and so it became the further belief of many that this man of fire had already appeared once in the similar personality of Moses' grand-nephew Phinehas.[6] Hence he finally coalesced in popular imagination, as the type of eternal youth and active succour, with the man of paradise, whom the Islamite nations call al-Chidhr.[7]

[1] P. 21 sq.

[2] The language of the short letter is quite that of the Chronicler; cf. especially וּתְזוּנָה, ver. 13, with ver. 11.

[3] In Epiphanius' *De Vit. Proph.* v. 6. —For other Apocryphal writings under Elijah's name, cf. Fabricii *Cod. Apocr. Vet. Test.* and Zunz's *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge*, p. 130 sq.

[4] Vol. ii. p. 225.

[5] See note on Rev. xi. 3 sqq.

[6] On account of the expression Num. xxv. 11. How in the later narratives these two were seriously represented as the same person, may be seen, for example, from Hamza's *Arab. Annalen*, p. 89 sq., according to Gottw. —A grave said to be Elijah's is now shown in the village of Sholbar near Damascus (cf. Seetzen's *Reisen*, i. p. 314); but that district is full of such pretended graves of antiquity.

[7] This personage is often mentioned, e.g. in Weil's *Legenden*, pp. 177–181; and there are many very beautiful tales current in Islam of how he drinks the water of life, retains everlasting youth, and takes perpetual pleasure in giving aid to men; see *Qirq Vezîr*, pp. 80–83, 85 sq., 165, 168. Jalâleldîn's *History of Jerusalem*, according to Reynolds, p. 129 sqq.; according to i. p. 269, he is placed by the side of Noah in the story of Ibn-Arabshah, *Fâqih.* p. 25, 5; but he is again distinguished from الياس, i.e. Elijah, Sharastâni, i. p. 131. In later times the Persian legends of the bird *Simorg* became much mixed up with these tales (Shâhnâmeh, i. p. 228, Mohl); but the name الخضر, i.e. *Green*, is unquestionably genuine Arabic, and the conception is probably, therefore, a remnant of the ancient Arabic mythology. That Elijah was, at a very early period, regarded in a similar way, may be concluded from Mal. iii. 1, 23 sq. [iii. 1, iv. 5 sq.]; cf. Ecclus. xlviii. 1–14. Many features of this conception were transferred by the Christians to their St. George.

SECTION II.

THE HOUSE OF JEHU: THE DESTRUCTION OF SAMARIA AND DELIVERANCE OF JERUSALEM.

THE great revolution under Jehu and its immediate consequences had now thrown both the kingdoms back into a primitive condition, from which it was the first business of each to deliver itself by the restoration of order and tranquillity. Grave mistakes and perverted efforts of the last century had been blotted out, and it was possible to lay a more satisfactory foundation both in Samaria and in Jerusalem. But the monarchical power issued from the struggles through which it had just passed terribly crippled and weakened. The pure moral awe which it had inspired, its primitive grandeur, and its ancient authority had been most violently shaken in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, by constant revolutions, and violently enough in Judah also by recent events; and nowhere could that wonderful power now be felt, in virtue of which the human monarchy had hitherto been the firmest prop of the nation. Encircled by a profound veneration, all-powerful, and scarcely to be bridled by the sanctity of prophetic utterance, sometimes, therefore, violent to excess, but always supported both by a higher consciousness and by the sacred awe in which it was held by the people, the firmest stay, consequently, of the internal unity and external power of the nation,—such had the primitive monarchy in Israel been; but now it lay in ruins, and could never rise again to the same elevation as of old. It is especially this weakening of the regal power which henceforth determines the course of our history. When the strongest power of the times was irreparably enfeebled, every other restraint was far more easily loosened; for it was not yet time for the appearance of that power which was capable of uniting everything firmly together. Unable to exercise a general control, the regal power became itself a detached force in the nation, and so was ready to take sides, and grew more dependent on parties; while the prophetic (so far as it did not degenerate), in spite of its powerful co-operation in the rise of the house of Jehu, became further and further separated, in the course of time, from the crown. Every popular aspiration developed itself with greater internal liberty, and in some directions, therefore, even more beautifully and

perfectly than before; in others, however, with greater looseness and want of restraint. Freedom increased everywhere, but since the higher religion, which should have guided this freedom, was constantly losing its power of holding the whole people together, it exercised an injurious rather than a purely beneficial influence on the national life. It was, however, a natural consequence of the general condition of the two kingdoms, that all these tendencies should work with far sharper and more destructive force in the northern than in the southern state.

An age in which the ancient rigour of monarchy has already exhibited its deficiencies and weaknesses to the world only too plainly, and proved itself incapable of even protecting, by its power, the higher welfare of the people which it was called into existence to support and extend, is not, however, without some advantages. It gives birth to a deeper movement of all the hitherto concealed spiritual forces among the people in an attempt to show what they too can do towards remedying the national evils which have become palpable, and properly adjusting all life and activity. We can follow such periods with profound sympathy, in so far as they show the utmost that can be accomplished by a people already highly cultivated, working on the basis of its earlier acquisitions, and bringing into play its deepest and most varied powers as yet uncorrupted and now liberated from the close confinement of its previous shackles. Such a period had now arrived for ancient Israel in all its fulness. The range of that pursuit of wisdom which had been so active and bold ever since the time of Solomon, was no doubt contracted during this period,[1] but within the narrower limits which were imposed upon it by the general position of Israel at the time, it developed itself all the more freely, nay, in many schools, only too much so. The chief indications of this fact are found in the power of doubt and mockery, and the folly of *mockers*, that is, according to the Greek expression, sceptics, who gained an increasing ascendancy during the succeeding centuries, and did not spare even the most sacred subjects. But the popular freedom also, in opposition to the power of the crown, now rapidly spread its wings. The power of the deputies in council, who took part in all legislation, now advanced with unmistakably important results from the position which had long ago been assigned to it in Israel,[2] although in accordance with the essential difference between the two kingdoms, it received a specific development in each. Moreover, the

[1] P. 19. [2] Vol. iii. pp. 11 sq., 310.

general internal restlessness of life increased in both the kingdoms during the following centuries almost without intermission, and was all the more one-sided and threatening in proportion to the weakness of Israel's dominion abroad, and the narrow limits within which, in spite of every vicissitude, its foreign power was, in the long run, more and more closely circumscribed. The immediate consequence of this contraction of the boundaries of the whole field of national power, together with the intense exertion and the ever-increasing restlessness of the endeavours and capabilities which were still left to the people, was to involve the lower classes in Israel in more and more suffering, and the times came when the 'poor' and 'oppressed'[1] were constantly and sadly on the increase, and even when everyone was reckoned in their number who held aloof from the perverted efforts for freedom, and in simple fidelity to the true religion preferred suffering injustice to participating in it.[2] To protect these men as far as possible from the greediness and injustice of their less scrupulous neighbours was now the noblest privilege and one of the most imperative duties of the monarchy,[3] the ideal function of which, at any rate, required it to stand above the contending parties in the realm, and counteract their destructive efforts.[4] In all this, then, the tendencies of Israel, even at that time, resembled those of many modern states; and all the restive turbulence of Grecian freedom before Alexander was then striving to develope itself in Israel; only the Greeks found it easy to throw off a monarchy which had never established itself firmly amongst them, as it now had done in Israel. But it is of still greater interest to observe in this connexion that there is every indication that many of the surrounding kingdoms, the Egyptian and Phœnician for instance, found themselves, at this epoch in a similar condition,[5] from which, after the release of every effort from the constraint in which it had previously been repressed, it was extremely difficult for any nation of antiquity to regain compact unity and power. All these states, together with Israel, exercised a most powerful mutual influence upon each other; and it was soon to be decided whether or not these dissolving

[1] The אֶבְיוֹנִים, and עֲנָיִים, so often mentioned after Ps. xii. 6 [5], Amos ii. 6 sq., iv. 1, v. 12, viii. 4. Hosea alone does not use these words; but they do occur in the book of Job.

[2] These words indisputably soon acquired this secondary meaning, which they still retain in Matt. v. 3 sqq., or rather Luke vi. 20 sq.

[3] According to Is. xxxii. 1-8, xi. 4, Ps. lxxii. 4, 12 sqq.

[4] See further the essay '*Ueber die Volks- und Geistesfreiheit Israels zur Zeit der grossen Propheten bis zur ersten Zerstörung Jerusalems*,' in the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* i. pp. 95–113.

[5] Ib. p. 104 sqq.

forces were now to gain the ascendant in Israel and its two kingdoms as well.

A long period had therefore to elapse at first, before the two kingdoms succeeded in recovering from the evils and deficiencies of the last revolution, and begin with energy to lay the improved foundation now possible. But at the commencement of this period, even the kingdom of the Ten Tribes had still a great deal of the old national vigour left, and both were still successful in raising themselves up to make a fresh beginning; nay, under the dynasty of Jehu, which lasted twice as long as that of his predecessor, the kingdom of the Ten Tribes reached a cohesion and strength which it had never before been able to attain. But for this very reason it was soon overtaken by its fate, for the germs of internal ruin and dissolution which lay in its very foundations were only brought out more rapidly and continuously by the long period of unbroken prosperity to which it at last attained once more; and when the Assyrians were aspiring after universal empire, they were able the more quickly to destroy a kingdom which had never drawn the breath of healthy life. But while the larger kingdom was advancing thus irretrievably towards its final ruin, the smaller once more collected its higher forces, after they had been united and developed with greater firmness under the pressure of the times,—and reached such wonderful power that it sustained, with the happiest and richest results, the blow under which its neighbour succumbed, and succeeded in raising itself by an almost creative effort to a fresh existence. The close of this second period of the two kingdoms is, therefore, wholly different from that of the first century of their existence; and when all their casual oscillations are over, the widely divergent destiny involved in the very origin of each appears in strong relief under the light of history.

Reckoning by the reigns of the several kings of Judah as given in our present book of Kings, this period, ending with the sixth year of the reign of king Hezekiah, in which Samaria was destroyed, embraces one hundred and sixty-five years; but according to the years assigned to the kings of the Ten Tribes up to the destruction of the kingdom, only one hundred and forty-three years and seven months. A closer investigation shows that there are two considerable mistakes[1] in the book of Kings, which can be corrected with tolerable certainty. The

[1] The mistake in 2 Kings xiii. 10 is of less importance. We must follow the Aldine edition of the LXX and read thirty-nine instead of thirty-seven, in accordance with xiii. 1, xiv. 1.

error most easy to discover occurs towards the conclusion. Pekah king of Israel and Jotham king of Judah enter upon their reigns almost at the same time; but from Jotham's first year to Hezekiah's sixth we have thirty-eight years, from Pekah's first to Hoshea's last only twenty-nine. If, in the case of Pekah's reign, we assume that the reading twenty is a mistake for twenty-nine, order is at once restored, and the connexion of the words remains in other respects entirely unaltered.[1]—The other mistake has sunk rather deeper in the present narrative. The reign of Amaziah king of Judah began, it is stated, in the second year of Joash king of Israel, and lasted twenty-nine years; and that of his son Uzziah lasted fifty-two years. If this be so, and if Josiah of Israel reigned sixteen years, and his son Jeroboam II. forty-one years, the latter cannot, as our present text says, have died and been succeeded by his son Zachariah in the thirty-eighth year of Uzziah.[2] The difficulty is increased still more by the reference of Uzziah's succession to the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam II.;[3] whereas, according to the preceding suppositions, it really belongs to the fifteenth, and there is independent evidence that it was so. But this enables us to recognise the origin of the mistake which must have crept in. Instead of giving Jeroboam these twelve years too much at the accession of Uzziah, we must rather add them to the whole duration of his reign, making it fifty-three instead of forty-one years. If these two mistakes are corrected, the whole chronology of this period of one hundred and sixty-five years becomes clear, and we may consider the separate numbers in general as quite trustworthy.[4] If we add the time to the death of Hezekiah, there will be one hundred and eighty-eight years in all.

[1] Thus we have only to suppose that ושתים has fallen out after עשרים in 2 Kings xv. 27. In this case, it is true, the twentieth year of king Jotham, 2 Kings xv. 30, still creates a difficulty, but this date is so utterly irreconcilable with that in 2 Kings xvii. 1 as well as with all the chronology, that we cannot look upon it as anything but a mistake. The Peshito and Arab. Polygl. have the still more extraordinary reading of the second year, unless this is a trace of the true reading in 2 Kings xvii. 1.

[2] 2 Kings xiv. 1 sq., 16 sq., 23, 29, xv. 8.

[3] 2 Kings xv. 1 sq. Here the clear statement in 2 Kings xiv. 17 is of special importance; everything before and after it agrees with it. It is true the old translators all have the same reading.

[4] Modern chronologists have usually assumed after Jeroboam II. and after Pekah many years of interregnum, during which the kingdom of the Ten Tribes had no king at all. But this is in every respect an erroneous assumption; it is in direct contradiction of the sense of the narrative, and shows an utter misconception of the history. We must, therefore, correct the little mistakes which have unquestionably crept into the present text.

A. THE HOUSE OF JEHU.—DISSOLUTION OF ANCIENT PROPHETISM.

I. Jehu, Joash, and Jeroboam II.

For a period of one hundred and fourteen years and a half this dynasty, comprising five kings, retained the supremacy in a state in which every other royal line, even if it survived the first moment of its establishment, collapsed in a far shorter time. Moreover, it restored to the kingdom, for a proportionately long period, an abundance of external power and honour, and this, too, though it had at first to contend for a long time against the most serious obstacles. But the causes of the longer duration and greater power of this house must not be sought simply in the sturdy valour of its founder and his successors, although it is remarkable that all the first four kings of the house retained this quality in equal measure;[1] for similar bravery characterised every founder of a dynasty which endured any considerable time, as well as many another king, and yet no other house maintained itself so long. The following are rather the real causes of this phenomenon. After the violent expulsion of injurious and foreign elements, the kingdom was thrust back again purely upon its original principles; viz. exclusive worship of Jahveh under the form of an ox, mutual understanding with the prophets of Jahveh, more faithful maintenance of all popular liberties, and opposition to Judah; while the primeval Bethel became once more the favourite seat, after Samaria, of the kings and their religion.[2] The kingdom could not but remain for a long time far more faithful to these first principles than it had been in earlier times, before it had passed through such terrible experiences. Its regeneration had only been effected by the most violent means; and it now sought, with a more honest exertion of all its powers, to realise whatever its first principles placed within its reach. Even the external distress into which it sank for a long period soon after its regeneration, in consequence of the great efforts through which it had attained to it, served to maintain it longer and more resolutely in this same direction. Again, when we consider that the good understanding, which lasted so long, between the two great independent powers of the state steadily improved the condition of the ancient community, and must

[1] Cf. 2 Kings x. 34. xiii. 8. 12, xiv. 28 with xv. 11.

[2] Amos vii. 13.

have been of the greatest value in uniting and confirming the scattered forces of a fallen kingdom, we see how peculiarly fortunate it was that the mighty Elisha, the real founder of the regenerated state, continued to stand by the side of the new kings with advice and protection for more than five-and-forty years, and, honoured alike by the whole people and the king as 'father' and as the surest 'stay of the realm,' died only in extreme old age.

1. The brightest prophetic anticipations and encouragements of prophetic support still accompanied Jehu during the first period of his reign. It was afterwards said that Jahveh had foretold to him that 'great-grandchildren should succeed him on the throne,' as they actually did.[1] We no longer possess the original words in which contemporary prophets promised a long enduring rule to the new king and his house, yet it is incontestable that these cheering anticipations clustered round the first days of the new dynasty, for otherwise the later stories could not have so much as come into existence.

The obstacles against which the new dynasty had to contend were no doubt of extraordinary magnitude. Hazael, the new king of Damascus,[2] made most relentless use of the feeble condition into which the kingdom had been plunged by the convulsions of the great revolution and its consequences, to re-establish the former supremacy of the Aramean kingdom, so that Jehu, in spite of his great and inexhaustible[3] valour, saw himself compelled, at last, to cede to him all the territory beyond the Jordan.[4] Similar losses had on every previous occasion marked the accession of a fresh dynasty in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes (as we saw in the case of Jeroboam,[5] of Baasha,[6] and of Omri,[7]) for the simple reason that the internal commotions and disturbances had always been so violent that a new royal house was obliged to give way a great deal abroad, in order first of all to establish itself in proper security at home. When Jehu died after a reign of twenty-eight years, his son Jehoahaz, who was not inferior to him in valour, seems indeed to have attempted the reconquest of the district in question, but the results were most unfortunate. Victory always remained with the aged Hazael and his Aramean troops; and his son Benhadad even conquered

[1] 2 Kings x. 30, xv. 12. The name of the prophet who uttered this prediction to Jehu is clearly omitted in this place for a similar reason to that explained on p. 30.

[2] P. 93.

[3] This follows from the unusual addition of כל to גבורתו, 2 Kings x. 34, which occurs nowhere else except in the case of Hezekiah, 2 Kings xx. 20, and that of Asa, 1 Kings xv. 23.

[4] 2 Kings x. 32 sq.

[5] P. 24 sq.

[6] P. 34 sq.

[7] P. 38.

a number of cities on the west of the Jordan,[1] which had to be ceded to him. The Ammonites,[2] who had always been in close alliance with the Arameans, seized this opportunity of spreading themselves more widely in Gilead, and vied with the Arameans in the barbarity with which they carried on the war.[3] Marauding hosts of Arameans[4] and Moabites[5] penetrated every year into the very heart of the western country; and in the seventeen years of the reign of this monarch the military power of the kingdom had sunk so terribly low that he could only bring fifty horsemen, ten war chariots, and ten thousand infantry into the field.[6]

Amid these calamities Elisha proved the most trustworthy adviser and the firmest support of his king and his people. In the first place he followed with the most searching glance the plans and stratagems of the Arameans, and not unfrequently frustrated them simply by the certainty of his forecastings and his unwearied vigilance. The reminiscence of these facts has been perpetuated in the following story,[7] which gives us a very vivid picture of the popular representations which grew out of them. It happened not unfrequently that the Aramean king, after taking counsel with his most distinguished officers, fixed on a spot in which to set an ambuscade for the king of Israel and his soldiers,[8] but Elisha always warned the king at the right moment not to pass by that particular place, since the Arameans lay in ambush there. Enraged by the constant frustration of these plans, the Aramean king at last declared in the presence of his confidential officers that he suspected treachery on the part of one of their number, but he was told, in reply, that the wonder-worker who was able to report to the king of Israel whatever the king of the Arameans said in his chamber was Elisha. He accordingly resolved to capture Elisha himself in Dothan (or Dothain), a town on the great north-eastern road north of Samaria, where he happened to be at the time;[9] and for this purpose he sent a considerable troop of

[1] 2 Kings xiii. 3, 22, 25. [2] P. 25.

[3] This appears from Amos i. 13; cf. Amos i. 3, 2 Kings viii. 12.

[4] Cf. 2 Kings v. 2. That the Aramean general Naaman belongs to no earlier period than this, is shown on p. 93 *note* 1; cf. pp. 86, 87.

[5] 2 Kings xiii. 20, a passage which I explained adequately in 1827, see *Gram.* p. 528.

[6] 2 Kings xiii. 7.

[7] 2 Kings vi. 8–23; cf. p. 86 sq.

[8] That תחנתי, 2 Kings vi. 8, cannot mean 'my camp,' though it is translated so even by the LXX, is shown with equal clearness by the context and by the word נחתים in ver. 9, which must come from the same root, and which the LXX very properly translate by *κέκρυπται*; the idea of an ambush must be contained in both words. Assuming then that נחת (cf. שחת) means properly to deepen, then to make a trench, to set an ambush, we must read in ver. 8 תֶּנָּחֵת 'you shall set an ambush,' and in ver. 9 נַחֲתִים.

[9] See Robinson's *Bib. Res.* iii. pp. 122, ed. 1856. In the Middle Ages they

horsemen and chariots to seize the wonder-worker. The arrival of this force on the neighbouring hills was first perceived by the prophet's servant early in the morning, and he was ready to give up his pusillanimous heart to despair, when his master directed his thoughts and his mental vision to the far mightier hosts of heaven which always protect the pious. As soon as the soldiers came up, Elisha, accompanied by his servant, boldly advanced to meet them, with the assurance that he would show them the man whom they sought, and, as though they were smitten at the prophet's prayer with a heaven-sent blindness, they followed him into the heart of Samaria. There, indeed, their blindness ceased; but when the king of Samaria wished to execute them as prisoners of war, Elisha begged him, on the other hand, to entertain them hospitably and let them go. The result was, that the account which they could thus take back to their king of the character of the men of Israel was so wonderful, that he desisted thenceforth from his raids against them.

And, in the second place, Elisha was also the right man to take advantage of the distress of the king and the people to direct them all the more impressively to their true weal and their real strength; so that a new and mightier race was gradually formed under pressure of the most dire necessity. 'King Jehoahaz prayed to Jahveh, and he heard him and gave the people a victorious deliverer from this distress;'—in these few words the last narrator sums up the whole course of the history of this century.[1]

2. This great conqueror, it is true, was not to come at once; but in the sixteen years of the reign of king Joash victory gradually returned to the side of Israel. Like his father and grandfather, this king was a very valiant warrior; he won three battles over Benhadad, and recovered from him all the towns west of the Jordan which had been lost under his predecessor. In any great crisis everything depends on the vigour of the first action, and the results of the first battle at Aphek, the very place where Ahab had formerly defeated the Arameans,[2] were of a decisive character. The subsequent victories came

looked for it in quite a different place, see Burchard, 5, 3–6; 6, 4, Ricult, p. 106 sq., and Odoricus, p. 147 in Laurent's *Peregrinatores*.

[1] A careful comparison of 2 Kings xiii. 4 sq., and xiv. 26 sq., makes it clear that the narrator meant no other than Jeroboam II. by this deliverer. And as the words in 2 Kings xiii. 6, comp. ver. 2, may thus be part of this anticipation of the history of Jeroboam II., the heathen worship in Samaria, mentioned in ver. 6, will not belong to an earlier time than that of Jeroboam II.; indeed, such a proceeding would hardly have been ventured on during *Elisha's* life.

[2] P. 73.

somewhat more slowly, and it seemed remarkable at last that this king, after such an energetic beginning, only reconquered the cities west of the Jordan, and so only half completed the victory over Damascus. This circumstance definitely moulded the account of Elisha's last interview with this king into the following shape. In the beginning of the reign of Joash, when the hoary prophet was sick unto death, the king visited him and wept over his bed, in grief which was rendered deeper by the thought of the additional loss which the kingdom, already so terribly weakened, was about to sustain in the man who had hitherto been its strongest support. Then the higher spirit stirred once more in the warrior prophet, now so near his end. He bade the king take his bow and an arrow; laying his own hands on the king's as he held the bow drawn, he told him to shoot through the window opened towards the east (that is to say, towards Damascus); and when the arrow sped well, he cried that thus would Jahveh grant him a great victory over the Arameans at Aphek. Then he bade him smite the ground with the bundle of arrows. The king did so three times and then paused; but Elisha, as though vexed at his stopping, declared that if he had struck the ground five or six times he would have utterly vanquished the Arameans; as it was, he would only defeat them thrice. This story belongs in every respect to the cycle of the twelve narratives of Elisha already discussed,[1] and is derived, no doubt, from their original author. It furnishes a striking proof of the estimation in which the prophet died, and shows that his spirit was the specific influence which brought about the gradual improvement, at any rate from a military point of view, which now set in. Shortly after his death, it is added, his body wrought a miracle, for when the bearers of a corpse, suddenly terrified by a band of Moabite marauders, flung it hastily into Elisha's tomb, touched by the prophet's bones, it returned to life.[2]

3. But it was in Jeroboam II., the son and successor of Joash, that the 'deliverer' of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes at last arrived. Prophetic anticipations of his future greatness must early have greeted him. The high prophetic reputation of Jonah, the son of Amittai, of the Galilean city of Gath-hepher,[3]

[1] P. 85 sqq.

[2] 2 Kings xiii. 14–21. How the later Syrians connected this prophet with their court histories may be seen from Bardaison's writings (in Cureton's *Spicilegium Syr.* p. 25, 12).

[3] His grave was shown in the Middle Ages at Ruma in Galilee (Burchard, 6, 2, in Laurent's *Peregrinatores*). Besides this, they were fond of showing, on the long strip of Phœnician coast, a *Jonah-place* where he had suffered shipwreck, the present *Khan-Jûnus* is thus shown between Beirût and Sidon. But all these ideas

was based on his having early predicted in him the great conqueror of the heathen.[1] And in this direction, at any rate, Jeroboam II. realised all the hopes which could have been formed concerning him. He reconquered on the north and east all that David and Solomon had formerly possessed, subdued Damascus and even Hamath,[2] and no doubt Ammon and Moab also; though he seems merely to have made the native kings of these countries tributary without removing them.[3] When the ancient Transjordanic territory of Israel had been regained, a fresh census of its population was taken.[4]

II. Dissolution of Morals and of Prophetism.

As the reign of Jeroboam, whose military sway was so powerful, lasted no less than fifty-three years,[5] it might have

are gathered entirely from the late book of Jonah in the Old Testament, of which more hereafter.

[1] It follows clearly from the words in 2 Kings xiv. 25–27 that this Jonah uttered the prediction neither long before nor long after the accession of Jeroboam II.; especially as the king, according to all appearance, won his great victories very early; Jonah's prediction, therefore, must fall in Jeroboam's childhood or in the first commencement of his reign. We may also conjecture with much probability that it was to this king that the epithalamial Psalm xlv. was dedicated in the first period of his youthful reign. I need here only follow up somewhat further what I said about this Psalm as early as 1835. Everything shows that it was dedicated to a king of the Ten Tribes. The position of one of these kings is clearly indicated in the words of ver. 8 [ver. 7], that God had appointed him king *before his fellows*, for in this kingdom there was no regular succession as there was in Judah, and each king appeared simply chosen at the moment before the other potentates of the kingdom, who stood, in other respects, on the same level with him, a position resembling that occupied by the German Emperors. Again, the mention of Tyre, ver. 13 [ver. 12], as offering homage, leads us to the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, and the fact that Tyre alone is so mentioned fits exactly with the period immediately after the death of Joash. Moreover, the peculiar language and style of the song do not point to Judah. Ver. 17 [ver. 16] refers us to a king who, like Jeroboam, had several royal ancestors; and there are very few monarchs of this kingdom to whom this verse could have been applied. Finally, all the religious conceptions and hopes of the time, as displayed in this song, are in harmony with the early part of the reign of this greatest of the kings of the Ten Tribes.

[2] Cf. vol. iii. p. 221.

[3] The reconquest of Moab may be partly taken for granted, and partly follows from the statement of the southern boundary of the kingdom of Jeroboam, Amos vi. 14, which is more exact than 2 Kings xiv. 25. In the description, only too short, in 2 Kings xiv. 28, we must of necessity read לישראל instead of בישראל; but ליהודה is utterly unintelligible and must be struck out, or at any rate emended after 2 Chron. viii. 3, to לצובה. But it follows from Amos i. 3–5, i. 13–ii. 3, that Damascus, Ammon, and Moab, in the time of Amos at any rate, had separate even if dependent princes. On the other hand, 'the great Hamath,' which Amos mentions, vi. 2, as a neighbouring kingdom to Israel, can hardly be identical with the kingdom named Hamath simply in Amos vi. 14, and everywhere else. Jerome and Cyril in their commentaries ad loc. took it for the later Antioch on the Orontes; and the name Ἡμαθία in Libanius (*Oratt.* ed. Reiske, t. i. p. 297, 300) was perhaps not simply taken from Macedonia; cf. Αἰμάθη in Malalas, p. 200, ed. Bonn.; perhaps even C. O. Müller would have changed his opinion concerning this name, had he been acquainted with this tradition (*Comment. Soc. Gott.* t. viii. pp. 227, 231).

[4] 1 Chron. v. 17; cf. further remarks below, under Uzziah.

[5] P. 118.

been expected that the kingdom would at last have attained under him a truer and more enduring prosperity, and that the fair days of David and Solomon would have been renewed, and rendered even more glorious in every direction. Yet the close of this long reign serves at once as the presage and the commencement of the utter destruction of the kingdom. The apparent riddle which thus presents itself does not, however, remain insoluble on a closer examination of all the circumstances as far as we can gain a clearer conception of them from historical sources.

1. In the first place we must observe, in this connexion, that according to all appearance the great victories and conquests of Jeroboam fall in the first decades of his reign. The immediate consequence was that the people, after so long a period of manifold distress and disunion, could once more 'dwell in their tents' in peace 'as in the days of old;' and, indeed, this is the solitary good result which the historical narrative can celebrate.[1] To the end of the long reign of Jeroboam II. the people in general enjoyed an increasing prosperity, which manifested itself in magnificent buildings of every sort, and the most luxuriant contrivances for material enjoyment, and it grew up during this period in arrogant security. We see all this with great vividness and circumstantiality from the prophetic book of Amos, who was still active during the first half of this reign, and also from the earlier or smaller portion of the book of Hosea,[2] who uttered his first prophecies towards its close. It is true that these long years of peace, when the nation was free from all external anxiety, were very unexpectedly interrupted by many natural calamities, such as drought, failure of crops, locusts, pestilence,[3] besides a great earthquake, from which the years were for a long time reckoned;[4] but the people allowed no such passing warnings from inanimate nature to disturb their proud security and the luxurious comfort of which they were so fond; in this at least did the greater kingdom reproduce the days of Solomon.

But this only caused the more continuous and rapid development of the manifold moral evils with which a period such as this is pregnant. The comfortable prosperity of the people passed, in the metropolis of Samaria and in many other parts of the country, into debauchery and excess, and then again into such pampered effeminacy of morals that the austere old Israel could hardly be recognised, and the prophets could not pour

[1] 2 Kings xiii. 5; cf. vol. iii. p. 265.
[2] Capp. i. sq.
[3] Amos iv. 6–11; cf. also Hos. vii. 14.
[4] Amos i. 1, Zech. xiv. 5.

out their divine wrath[1] or the moralists their ridicule abundantly enough.[2] The clearest sign of the degradation of public morality was furnished then, as at all similar times, by the growing effrontery of the women[3] and the decline of domestic chastity.[4] Such a vehement appetite for debauchery and ostentation created an equally powerful tendency to avarice and all kinds of fraudulent oppression of the more defenceless citizens; and the opportunities for these perversions of justice increased in proportion as the king came to be regarded simply as the first amongst a number of similar potentates and military chiefs.[5] And now too, as in the time of Solomon, the freer intercourse of the people with heathen nations, who had either been conquered or were distinguished by commerce and art, together with the general spread of looseness and intemperance of life, led to an extensive introduction of heathen religions;[6] while it became customary to satisfy the claims of the ancient religion of the land, in the low state to which it had sunk, by rich offerings and drunken orgies,[7] so that it thus actually plunged the people yet deeper in moral apathy.

2. Against the introduction of such a poison as this, eating into the very vitals of the nation and the kingdom, prophetism ought, no doubt, according to the fundamental principles of the kingdom, to have worked with all the greater firmness and effect. But this very point brings us to another most important characteristic of the time, viz. the complete dissolution of the ancient spirit and influence of prophetism, not only in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, but also in Judah. And in the great march of history this dissolution is not a mere accident; it is the result of every previous development, and exerts a most

[1] The whole book of Amos, in fact, is instructive in this connexion, as well as many passages of Hosea, especially from c. iv. onwards.

[2] Such proverbs as Prov. xxviii. 3 sq. 15 sq., 21, xxix. 4–19, 21 belong altogether to this time; and the experiences of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes may have given rise to them just as well as similar circumstances in Judah,

[3] Amos iv. 1–8; cf. viii. 13.

[4] Of which some bad examples are given in Amos ii. 7, Hos. iv. 13.

[5] Amos iii. 9 sq. and elsewhere, Hos. v. 1 sq. and in many other denunciations.

[6] Many passages in which Amos and Hosea speak of idol-worship only refer to the national religion and the calf-worship, which these prophets already regarded with horror as an abomination; but there are also plenty of indications of various heathen religions. In the time of Jeroboam II. there was a temple of Astarte under his protection in Samaria itself, 2 Kings xiii. 6, cf. supra, p. 106; many, especially wanton women, worshipped on their own account the Aramean god Rimmon and his wife Rimmona, Amos iv. 3. cf. 2 Kings v. 18; impure religious festivities like those mentioned on p. 49. were celebrated by the people in many places, and rose to a special height at Gilgal, once the sacred centre of the worship of Jahveh. Hos. iv. 13–15, ix. 15, x. 1, xii. 12 [11]. Thus Hosea could speak of the Baals that is, the idols in general, to which Israel had fallen away, ii. 7–15, 19 [5–13, 17], xi. 2.

[7] Amos iv. 4 sq., v. 21–23, Hos. v. 6, vi. 1–3, 6, viii. 2.

powerful influence, proportionate to its supreme importance, on the whole of the subsequent course of events.

The cessation of prophecy in the ancient form in which it had developed itself within the community since the days of Moses, was certainly no evil in itself. On the contrary, it was implied from the first in the very form of existence and activity which it assumed. For true prophetism lays down truths which are not to remain its special possession for ever, but are to become universal. It lays them down as being intrinsically binding on every man, and consequently gives them the form of immutable decrees of God to mankind; not as though they were simply to stand opposite humanity for ever as external commands and compulsory ordinances, but that they might sink with ever-deepening conviction into the heart of the individual, and operate from it in turn with living power.[1] If, then, the unprophetic portion of the community gradually rose up in greater independence and freedom against these prophets of the ancient type, if they no longer obeyed their commandments so readily, and threw doubt and even ridicule upon them, all this was to a great extent a proof that the people, through the very activity of the prophets themselves, had become more mature in the course of ages, and felt that they had outgrown their guidance. This was indeed exactly what the loftier spirit of the ancient religion itself desired; nay, the wide extension of the old prophetic culture by means of the schools of the prophets had itself been paving the way for this result ever since the time of Samuel, and still more since that of Elijah. This change in the position of the non-prophetic elements in the community appears, however, to have been brought to a head by a more accidental cause: it so often happens that what has long been inevitable, owes the crisis of its occurrence to some special and more casual circumstance. The prophets of the age after Solomon[2] had, with ever-growing unanimity, threatened the approach of a great *day of Jahveh* of judgment and sentence for the earth.[3] In this they were guided by the correct feeling that the ancient times of Israel were drawing to a close, that a fresh and powerful development must succeed, which the existing race, however, was too weak to bring about; for the true prophets perceived clearly enough the real character and tendency of the whole period subsequent to Solomon. Now,

[1] Vol. ii. p. 49 sqq., 128 sqq.

[2] P. 60.

[3] Joel, it is true, is the most ancient prophet with whom we are acquainted who utters this threat; but at the same time his very language shows that he was not really the first to do so.

since this threatened and dreaded 'day of Jahveh' never actually arrived to the extent to which it was threatened, many of the people learned to doubt and ridicule the prophetic word altogether,—of this we find many complaints from Amos downwards; and this proved the heaviest blow to the ancient inviolability of the 'word of Jahveh.'[1]

But the inherent weakness of ancient prophetism was an additional cause of its deeper and deeper decline, although it advanced to its dissolution in the two kingdoms in very different ways. From the kingdom of Judah we have still one prophet, Joel, the contemporary of Elisha, who should be mentioned here, though he is only brought into this connexion by the antique vigour and imperativeness of his language. In their life and action the prophets of Judah were obliged[2] to assume a more and more temperate and conciliatory attitude towards the throne, so that prophetism, in this kingdom, gradually divested itself of its ancient violence. Only in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes did the ancient style of prophetism obstinately maintain and even develope itself, in mortal conflict with the kings, in every direction which it was possible for it to take. In this field Elijah appears as the giant who finally achieved the highest possible results. His great disciple Elisha, however, already shows a falling off; and again Elisha's disciple, Gehazi,[3] shows a very marked falling off from him;—facts which furnish the clearest evidence of the complete degeneration of the whole of this school, of its retrogression instead of its advance. It is true that Jonah, the son of Amittai,[4] also belonged to this school, and that the range of his activity was of very great extent, for tradition is certainly not without foundation in connecting him with Nineveh, just as Elijah and Elisha laboured far beyond the boundaries of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes; but according to the representation of him by the later legend[5] he was certainly no model of a prophet, whatever may have

[1] Cf. the *Propheten des A. B.* i. p. 32 sqq. [Trans. i. p. 39 sqq.] Even Elisha encountered doubt and ridicule, though more occasionally; 3 Kings vii. 2, 18 sq.

[2] P. 11.

[3] P. 83. [4] P. 123.

[5] In the book of Jonah, cf. the *Propheten des A. B.* ii. p. 555 sqq. [iii. p. 233 sqq. 2nd Ed]. These narratives of Jonah, in the form in which we now possess them, are no doubt later than those of Elisha and Elijah mentioned above; but it is remarkable that the Old Testament only contains stories of this sort about prophets of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. The cause of this is to be sought partly in the very peculiar circumstances of this kingdom itself and its early fall, partly in the extraordinary nature of the careers of these last prophets of the ancient stamp. They were like relics of another world amongst men who had already undergone a complete change; and just because they were, in this way, the last great types of an age which had disappeared, they remained all the more firmly fixed in men's memories. These two causes mutually correspond to each other, and so tend here to the same result.

been the extent of his influence, or his renown even among heathen nations. What, then, is the cause of this constant degeneration in the followers of an Elijah and Elisha? Simply this,—that the violence and imperiousness inherent in the whole nature of ancient prophetism, but most powerfully developed in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, could be no longer maintained against the monarchy in this kingdom. The violence of prophetism had exhausted its strength in the overthrow of the house of Omri; but the house of Jehu, with which it was most closely united, after reaching a higher pitch of power, ended by reverting essentially to the objects of the house of Omri, and by that time prophetism had been too far outstripped by the general civilisation of the times to be able to exercise any real influence on the course of events. It was appropriately condemned and punished by the very fact of its boldest creation, the house of Jehu, finally following the example of every previous dynasty of the kingdom. The strain on the bow was too great, it could not help breaking; and however noble, in many aspects, the efforts of individuals such as Elisha and Jonah might be, the whole tone and direction of ancient prophecy had received a blow from which it could never recover. These were the prophets who loved to be called 'fathers' by the people. Elijah, as far as we can tell, was the first to whom the expressions 'my father!' and 'thy son' were voluntarily tendered by those who consulted him,[1] and what sprang up spontaneously in his case appears to have become a settled custom with his follower Elisha, and no doubt with many others; but we know what the *popes* and *fathers* became in the middle ages, and what they are in our own days also.

3. It is true that about this time a new sort of prophetism developed itself. It first appeared in Judah, where the ground had been prepared for it ever since the reign of David, but it afterwards sprang up in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes also, as the great example of Hosea proves. It is no longer the object of this school of prophecy to form an independent power in the state, to issue peremptory orders, to set up and depose kings. Even in its language and treatment of its subjects it gradually lays aside the elements of violence and sudden surprise; but it perpetuates the powerful action of the earlier

[1] This part of the words addressed to Elijah, 2 Kings ii. 12, may be quite historical; cf. p. 82. For 'thy son' cf. 2 Kings viii. 9 with xvi. 7.—But the prophets of the ancient school were also distinguished in common language from those of the school now forming itself by the designation *Seer*, whereas the latter were the first to whom the name *Nabhi*, that is, *Prophet*, was universally given, 1 Sam. ix. 9; Amos vii. 12.

school on the affairs of the kingdom. In the midst of its great public labours it gains a purer and more spiritual grasp of eternal truths, and increases their power of influence by taking a freer and more vigilant survey of surrounding circumstances, and so it not only gains the most marvellous inward strength and firmness, but also produces a far more beneficent and enduring effect upon mankind; and just because it clearly perceives the deep needs of its own age, it points with a calmer inspiration to the great time of renovation when all that the present is too feeble to attain is destined to be fully realised.[1] This rejuvenescence and true spiritual regeneration of prophecy only gained strength, however, very gradually. In the first place it was resisted by the greater part of the people, who did not care to see themselves shaken out of the moral torpor in which they had hitherto been sunk. They clearly recognised the deficiencies of the older prophetism, and were ready enough to ridicule them, but they were not prepared to fall in with the demands of the reformed and renovated school. From this time forward, but not earlier, Israel is constantly reproached as a stiff-necked people,[2] and it was hard enough to make the beginning of the new religion of faith working by love, to which the better prophets now strove to lead this nation of ancient culture and of ancient pride. And, in the second place, the prophetic order itself was not so quick to undergo this complete change, and assume this more beautiful form. Prophets of the ancient type still continued to exist for a long time side by side with those of the new, and degenerated more and more into simple magicians and soothsayers, like those of the heathen, or into complaisant flatterers of the powerful. Even the new prophetism only gradually emancipated itself from all the remains and results of the ancient violence; for even Isaiah, in other respects the greatest of the new prophets, still bore about him some relics of it, and Jeremiah, towards the conclusion of the whole of this period, was the first to liberate himself entirely from its influence.[3] But the noblest and most enduring services which prophetism could render to the community of Israel, as it actually existed, were first fulfilled by this new order; and since, from the very nature of the life and history of Israel, the prophetic action and its results were necessarily the objects of all its highest efforts, it was now that the most exquisite and at the same time the most

[1] P. 59 sqq.

[2] Ex. xxxii. 9, xxxiii. 3, 5, xxxiv. 9; then Deut. ix. 6, 13, Ez. iii. 7–9, Is. xlviii. 4.

[3] Cf. the *Propheten des A. B.* ii. p. 63 sqq. 2nd ed.

fruitful bloom of the collective spiritual energies of the ancient people first appeared. When the blossom of its temporal prosperity threatened to fade away more and more hopelessly, the deeper energies and aspirations of its spirit directed themselves with all the more singleness and strength of purpose towards this tender unfading bloom, in which lay concealed a strong impulse towards a thoroughly new and regenerated age, and even its actual beginning. If anything could avert or even delay the threatened dissolution of the power and the freedom of the ancient people, this result must be secured by giving free scope to this new form of prophetism ennobled by the deepest energy of the ancient religion.

4. But the monarchy in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes did not understand this renovated prophecy in the remotest degree, and struggled blindly against its action. It had now united to itself and sufficiently tamed down its old and formidable enemy, the prophetism of antiquity; it had just gained a seemingly great power of its own, and it rested proudly on its laurels. When about the fifteenth year of the reign of Jeroboam,[1] Amos, one of the first prophets of the nobler type, and not educated in any of the existing schools, went from Judah to Bethel, to denounce the sins and give warning of the perils of the kingdom at the actual head-quarters of its idolatry, the king commanded Amaziah, the high priest of Bethel, to expel him from the land; and he yielded to the decree, though without loss of dignity or sign of fear.[2] Towards the end of the same reign a prophet of the same sort appeared in Hosea, a native of this kingdom. He appears to have come from Gilead beyond Jordan,[3] and then to have lived for a long time in the western country, among other places at Samaria, Gilgal, and Shechem. With his profound discernment he perceived, as

[1] The ancient superscription, Amos i. 1, does not specify the exact year of Uzziah or Jeroboam in which Amos began his prophetic career, but internal indications show that it must have been one of the first years (if not the very first) of the reign of Uzziah. According to i. 11, ix. 12 Edom was still unsubdued, as it was in the last years of Amaziah, whereas Uzziah soon after his accession completely subjugated it. In the same way Gath, according to vi. 2 (p. 95), was not yet reconquered, and this task also must have been accomplished pretty early by Uzziah. Besides this, it is obvious that Amos preached and wrote a considerable time before Hosea. The earthquake mentioned in Amos i. 1, Zech. xiv. 5, must therefore have occurred in one of the first years of Uzziah.

[2] And Amos speaks of something of the sort in such general terms that we are compelled to regard the prohibition as not applying to himself alone. Probably he only went from Judah to Bethel because Jeroboam had thrown obstacles in the way of all the native prophets of the better sort. Cf. 'Wherefore the wise man is silent at this time,' v. 13.

[3] It is noteworthy that the *Mezâr Osha'*, a tomb of Hosea which serves as a place of pilgrimage, is still pointed out close by a place which may pass for the ancient *Mizpeh* = Gilead. See Burckhardt's *Syr.* p. 606; and even the lofty mountain *Osha'*, the Arabic form of Hosea, now derives its name from this.

Amos and other prophets of Judah had done, that the fundamental principles of the kingdom, i.e. its image-worship which led with increasing rapidity to heathenism, and its revolt from the house of David on insufficient grounds, were the evils which were gnawing more and more hopelessly at its roots. With his burning words he scourged all its perversities, threatened it with speedy ruin, and announced that the true salvation of the future could only come out of Judah. In the earlier period of his life and labours he realised the consuming fire of ancient prophetism vividly enough in his own person, but at last, with true creative power, he uttered, as the altered inference from the whole history of the kingdom and the earlier prophetism, the great thought that not violence and obstinacy (the ultimate foundations of this state), but only the love which is victorious over all evil, must be the highest attribute of man as of God. But he was driven almost frantic by the heat of his contest against the gigantic strides of social corruption and against the malignant snares of his enemies, and was compelled to flee to Judah. Once more, at a somewhat later period, a prophet of Judah dedicated in vain the whole strength of his utmost efforts for many years to a radical reformation of this kingdom. His patience too was at last exhausted,[1] and the kingdom remained utterly impervious to any direct influence from the improved prophetism.

Thus was all restraint removed from the lower efforts and appetites of this kingdom. It was evident that the monarchy had no longer anything to fear from prophetism; but with it was lost the only authority to which the constitution of an Israelite kingdom allowed the possibility of ever checking the degeneration of the power of the crown. Nothing remained to stand at the side of the throne, except on the one hand a host of soldiers drunk with victory,[2] of unrighteous judges[3] and haughty rivals of the regal power, and on the other hand a tribe of merchants who had risen to wealth and desired nothing but security in the enjoyment of their treasures and undisturbed permission further to defraud the people.[4] The masses sank into poverty and starvation; those who for any reason had risen above them were still sunk in almost every species of corruption,[5] and frivolous pursuits and religions of every kind preyed on the

[1] This is the prophet, unknown to us by name, to whom we owe the sections of the book of Zech. ix.–xi., xiii. 7–9; cf. the *Propheten des A. B.* i. p. 318 sqq. [i. p. 248 sqq. 2nd ed.; Trans. i. p. 305 sqq.]

[2] Amos ii. 14–16 vi. 13, Hos. i. 5, 7, viii. 14, x. 13.

[3] P. 95.

[4] Amos ii. 6, sq., viii. 5–7, Hos. xii. 8 sq. [7 sq.]

[5] Amos vi. 1 sqq., Hos. iv 18, v. 1 sqq., vii. 5–7, 16, ix. 15.

strength of the whole nation with less and less restraint. This led Amos first, and then Hosea more definitely still, to announce the impending ruin, not only of the house of Jehu, but of the monarchy and the kingdom itself;[1] but Hosea also based the necessity of the fall of the house of Jehu on the blood-guilt contracted by it in the valley of Jezreel,[2] when it seized the throne; so that this crime, too, received its eternal sentence from the new prophecy.[3] Indeed, the inmost life of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes was extinguished when the house of Jehu, which was the mightiest of all and had been raised to power by the utmost exertions of all the better elements of the nation, had fallen into essentially the same position as that occupied by the earlier dynasties which had decayed more rapidly. It was impossible for the kingdom to return to its first principles, for the house of Jehu had exerted itself to the utmost, yet in vain, to bring this about; nor could it further develop itself, for this could only have been effected by the rejected prophets of the higher type. Nothing was left for it but destruction. Deep grief, no doubt, seized the noble prophets when they were driven to predict the impending ruin of a state which, from an external point of view, still shone in all its power and glory;[4] but yet the Spirit compelled them ever to proclaim this destruction as close at hand, and as irrevocably decreed by Jahveh.

5. As long as Jeroboam II., who had been so victorious in his youth, and who certainly preserved his valour and prudence to the last, remained on the throne, the external condition of the kingdom continued satisfactory. But his son Zachariah was only able to maintain his power for six months. He fell with all his house by a conspiracy in the army; and this conspiracy was only the parent of an endless series of others, which would have been enough to destroy the kingdom within half a century at the most, even if the Assyrians, a powerful people of quite a fresh type, had not appeared upon the battle-field. But before we take a closer survey of the final convulsions of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, we must bring up the history of the other kingdom to about the same epoch,—that at which the Assyrians cause an entirely fresh agitation among all the kingdoms of the south.

[1] Amos vii. 9, ix. 8, Hos. i. 4, iii. 4, x. 3, xiii. 10 sq. and elsewhere.

[2] P. 97 sqq.

[3] Cf. p. 35.

[4] Amos vi. 1 sq., Hos. ix. 13, x. 1.

B. THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH TO THE DEATH OF UZZIAH.

I. Consequences of the Revolution under Jehu.—Joash, Amaziah, and Uzziah.

1. The revolution under Jehu and its immediate results threw even the house of David [1] into the greatest danger of utter destruction; and while the house of Omri was exterminated on its own ground, at Jerusalem on the contrary it seemed to flourish anew with all its principles and objects in the person of the haughty queen-mother Athaliah.[2] At first sight it seems surprising that she should have reigned for six years, since we find no other instance in the ancient history of Israel of a woman being queen. But, generally speaking, woman had not yet sunk to the dependence and insignificance to which she was afterwards reduced by Islam;[3] and the Phœnician Dido, who stands near to Athaliah both in chronology and race, was not the only celebrated female ruler of the ancient East. Besides this, Athaliah could easily abuse her great power, as queen-mother,[4] for the purpose of maintaining herself and her followers at the helm of the state.

We have little detailed information about the six years' reign of this bold woman. Her supporters would consist of the party inclined to heathenism, which had been formed at Jerusalem under the short reigns of the two preceding kings, as well as of the faithful followers of the house of Omri, who may have fled to her at Jerusalem when persecuted in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. But in the kingdom of Judah the attachment to the austere old religion had become too strong since the days of Asa and Jehoshaphat, and the partiality to the house of David could not long be repressed. That the ancient order of priests, which in this kingdom was well consolidated,[5] must have constituted the strongest body of opposition to the patronage of heathenism after the genuine prophets of Jahveh, is easily intelligible; and we see at this point the first indication of the great power which this order, in its present condition, could exert.

Joash, the only son of the last king Ahaziah who escaped the massacre,[6] was rescued, with his nurse, when an infant hardly two months old, by Joshebah, a sister of Ahaziah, but probably not a daughter of Athaliah. She concealed him at first

[1] P. 101.
[2] Pp. 63, 101.
[3] Cf. Miriam, Deborah, Abigail, and the Shulamite in the Song of Solomon.
[4] Vol. iii. p. 272.
[5] P. 28.
[6] P. 101.

in the bed-chamber of the royal palace among the mattresses which were kept in store there,[1] and then removed him with equal secrecy into the buildings adjoining the temple, the overseer of which, the high priest Jehoiada, was her husband.[2] When Athaliah, who knew nothing of this (for Joash might pass for a son of the high priest), had reigned for more than six years, Jehoiada thought the time ripe for overthrowing her power and having the young prince publicly recognised as the true sovereign of the country. He accordingly consulted with the captains of the royal body-guard[3] in the temple itself, showed them the young Joash, secured their allegiance to him under a sacred promise, and concerted with them the following plan for placing him on the throne. Every Sabbath it was customary for one division of the body-guard to remain at its post by the royal palace, to protect it, while the two other divisions marched out to preserve order at the temple, where, on holy days, there were always great streams of people. On these occasions one of the two divisions took up its position at the northern entrance of the temple, the so-called foundation-gate, the other at the southern entrance, also called the gate behind the runners' gate.[4] On a given Sabbath, then, the first division was to occupy its customary position at the palace, so as to deceive Athaliah, who did not frequent the temple of Jahveh, by the appearance of doing everything in the usual order; but the two other divisions were on this occasion to occupy the temple in the interest of the king, forming a compact circle from north to south round the court of the priests, attending to nothing but the safety of the king, and slaying on the spot any one who attempted to pass the boundaries of the royal platform.[5] This plan was completely successful. When the two di-

[1] In 2 Kings xi. 2, we must insert ותתן, from 2 Chron. xxii. 11, before אתו.

[2] It is true that the fact of her being the wife of the high priest only rests on 2 Chron. xxii. 11, but it is certainly a genuinely historical statement. That Jehoiada was high priest is clear from 2 Kings xii. 10 sq. [9 sq.]

[3] 'The Carians and the Runners,' 2 Kings xi. 4, 19, elsewhere in this same narrative more briefly 'the Runners,' no doubt because no great number of foreigners were any longer included among them. Cf. iii. p. 143, and i. p. 248. Probably the six hundred Gibborim were amalgamated with these runners in the kingdom of Judah after the time of Solomon. At any rate, in the existing narratives we only find officers of the rank of Shâlîsh (iii. p. 140 sqq.) with the kings of the Ten Tribes; and, on the other hand, the runners, spoken of 2 Kings xi. must have been several hundred strong.

[4] Vol. iii. pp. 240, 241, 248.

[5] Vol. iii. p. 251. This is the true meaning of the description 2 Kings xi. 5–11, as is shown both by the language (for the order can only begin with ושמרתם, ver. 6) and the matter itself. It is not fully stated that the order in ver. 6 only applies to the first-named third, and that the runners who came to Jehoiada were the two other thirds, but all this is made clear by the context. The word מסח, which only occurs here and of which even the ancient translators could make nothing, may mean 'according to custom,' since נסח, نسخ

visions which were to accomplish their task at the temple, came to Jehoiada, he gave their leaders the spear and shield [1] which were preserved as weapons of David, consecrated by him to the temple, as though to commence and to consecrate the work of the restoration of the Davidic house with the sacred arms of the great founder himself. Then he presented the young prince before the assembled army, and had him anointed as the true king with all the customary solemnities; and after the successful termination of this ceremony the trumpets sounded, and a great shout of joy was raised, at first by the body-guard and then in ever-widening circles by the whole people. Athaliah, roused by the disturbance, hastened boldly into the middle of the temple, but she came too late to prevent what had happened, and at Jehoiada's order she was quietly removed beyond the limits of the sanctuary, and then, at a considerable distance from the temple and west of the palace, put to death.

The high priest took advantage of this victory to bind the people once more by oath to faithful maintenance of the worship of Jahveh, and the joyous festival of homage to the youthful king became on this occasion identical with that of renewed allegiance to Jahveh.[2] He further derived powerful assistance from the awakened zeal of the whole people, who destroyed the temple of Baal in Jerusalem,[3] and slew its high priest Mattan. The dominion of the ancient religion was settled again for a

also signifies a transition or tradition from one to another. That שדרות, vv. 8, 15, may denote the boundaries of the royal platform has been shown iii. p. 251.

The whole narrative c. xi., together with that of the repair of the temple, c. xii., may be taken from the State-annals. The Chronicler, however, naturally considered it more worthy of a high priest to call the Levites and the elders of the whole country to his assistance in such an undertaking. So he tells us, 2 Chron. xxiii., that the captains called in by Jehoiada had previously made the circuit of Judah to draw to Jerusalem all the Levites and the other heads of the people, and that the Levites then formed the inmost circle round the king in the temple, while the laity accomplished the actual deed of blood. From his usual method elsewhere, it is easy to recognise what is peculiar to the Chronicler in the whole of this representation. The three divisions of the men who conducted the revolution, mentioned by the ancient historical work, assume quite a different aspect under the Chronicler, ver. 4 sq.; in particular he forms the first of these three divisions of Levites of every kind, a supposition which is only a result of the altered conception of the whole affair. If we discard everything which shows the colouring of the Chronicler's representation, no historical addition to the narrative of 2 Kings xi. remains, except the five names of the captains of the runners given in ver. 1; these he must of course have found in some ancient document.

[1] The Chronicler, ver. 9, multiplies the number of these weapons; but it would be a mistake to suppose that in the original narrative the soldiers of the captains came to the temple without weapons, and that there the high priest distributed the weapons of David to them through the captains. This is not implied in the words of the narrative, nor can such a thing be supposed possible.—For the rest, the conjecture that Joash may perhaps have been a supposititious representative of the royal family is quite unfounded.

[2] But, according to 2 Kings xi. 18, 2 Chron. xxiii. 18 sq., they had for a long time to keep a guard in the temple, to prevent surprise by the heathenising party.

[3] P. 95.

long period, and all the foreign elements which the close alliance of Jehoshaphat with the house of Omri had introduced, were thrust away. The high priest became the teacher and guide of the king, who was only seven years old; and the latter adopted with such docility the principles of his instructor that even after he had attained his majority he always remained loyal to them.[1] But from childhood upwards he never showed any enterprise or courage; and besides this, the royal authority in general was at that time already greatly impaired. It is not surprising, therefore, that under him the kingdom could not at once recover from the enfeebled condition into which it had fallen since Jehoshaphat's death, and even experienced further humiliations and losses.

The occasion of fresh wars and disasters was probably given by the Philistine city of Gath, which may have regained its freedom and that of the surrounding territory under Jehoram.[2] Its reconquest may have been deemed a point of honour by the new government at Jerusalem, and the attempt must at first have succeeded. But at this point the other little Philistine states appear to have called in the aid of the powerful Aramean king Hazael;[3] and, in the humiliation to which he had reduced it, the kingdom of the Ten Tribes was certainly not in a position to refuse him permission to pass through its territory. Accordingly he came with a small but valiant army, conquered the city, but presented it with its freedom,[4] and thence pressed forward at once towards Jerusalem after having slain or taken

[1] At any rate, this is clearly implied in the words of the older historical work 2 Kings xii. 3 [2] comp. with 1 Kings xv. 14, 2 Kings xv. 18. since אשר, xiii. 3, signifies *because*. If indeed the last letter of ימין be cut off, there would result the very different meaning 'as long as Jehoiada instructed him, or directed him, as though he had afterwards become unfaithful to Jahveh. The LXX indeed translated it so, and the Chronicler, 2 Chron. xxiv. 2, understood it in the same way. But then the older historical work ought to have told us how Joash showed himself faithless afterwards; but so far is this from being the case, that the piety of his successor is afterwards compared with his own, and that of both regarded as inferior to David's alone, 2 Kings xiv. 3 (the Chronicles omit this passage); and Uzziah is compared with them, 2 Kings xv. 3, 2 Chron. xxvi. 4. A complete change in the king's disposition after Jehoiada's death would be the more surprising because we know from 2 Kings xii. 7 [6] that the latter was still living when the king was thirty years of age. The question therefore arises whether the Chronicler did not prefer the other interpretation of the words of 2 Kings xii. 3 [2] because he thought that the numerous misfortunes of the king, narrated in vv. 18-22 [17-21] might then be more easily understood. Something of the same kind appears to be repeated by him in the life of the succeeding king, and generally speaking he is fond of similar historical explanations.

[2] P. 95. [3] P. 93 sq.

[4] Hence it is mentioned as independent by Amos vi. 2. All the other statements in the text follow from 2 Kings xii. 18 sq. [17 sq.], 2 Chron. xxiv. 23 sq., compared with all that we know with tolerable certainty of these circumstances from other sources. An alliance of the Arameans and Philistines against Israel or Judah is seen still later, after the time of Jeroboam II.; see below.—The Hellenists call the Damascene king Αζαήλ, and in Jos. Gen. *Hypomn.* c. 124, he is confused with an

captive, in an engagement, many nobles of Judah. At Jerusalem no hope was entertained of the possibility of a successful resistance, and the departure of the Aramean army from the borders of Judah was purchased by the renunciation of Gath, as well as by very costly presents, for which they had to collect all the gold to be found in the temple and the palace, as well as all the royal consecrated gifts which had been placed in the temple since the days of Asa.[1] All the Philistine kingdoms, it is obvious, took part in this war, which proved so disastrous for Judah, and which was not exactly closed with the retirement of Hazael. The Phœnicians, too, had long ceased to look for any advantage, as in the days of David and Solomon, from a good understanding with Judah; on the other hand, they supported the enemies of the fallen kingdom, and occupied themselves with peculiar pleasure, with the slave trade in the many Jews who were prisoners of war or who had simply been kidnapped.[2] And we may be sure that the Idumeans were not slow, in such times, to make fresh incursions.[3]

When to all these misfortunes there were added a very severe drought, lasting several years, and a devastation by locusts, Joel addressed the despairing people in words which urged the necessity of deep repentance, but also pointed to the eternal hopes of the true community.[4] This prophet, an honoured priest of Jerusalem, laboured according to many indications for a long time, and with great public success; and his discourses

Assyrian king. In Damascus, no doubt, his name, like Benhadad's, was of primeval antiquity, and therefore sanctity, as is shown by the legends of Azelus in Just. *Hist.* xxxiv. 2 and Jos. *Ant.* ix. 4. 6.

[1] P. 52.

[2] Joel iv. 1–6 [iii. 1–6], Amos i. 6–10. In Joel's time the Phœnicians sold the captive Judahites chiefly to the Ionians, that is towards the north-west, in later times more towards the south-east to the Idumeans, who treated them with special cruelty.

[3] Amos i. 11; cf. Joel iv. 19 [iii. 19].

[4] It is taken for granted here that Joel could not lament over the sacred vessels carried away from the temple iv. 5 [iii. 5] before Hazael's expedition against Jerusalem. In this passage it is obvious that Joel has in his mind some event of which the memory was at the time still fresh; but we cannot refer it to the incursion of the Philistines under Jehoram, p. 94, for according to the words of the Chronicler, they may have occupied and plundered the royal palace on that occasion, but not the temple. It is in perfect accordance with this that Hazael received from the temple all the valuable royal gifts which had been presented to it since Asa's time, 2 Kings xii. 19 [18] comp. with 1 Kings xv. 18. The fact of Joel's not expressly mentioning the Arameans amongst the enemies of Judah is the less surprising because they had simply sent an army of auxiliaries to the Philistines. The date of this inroad by Hazael is fixed by the Chronicler, 2 Chron. xxiv. 23, in the last year of king Joash. And it is not altogether impossible, as far as we know from other sources (p. 120 sqq.), that Hazael (who is not mentioned by name, however, in this passage of the Chronicles) may still have been living at that time; but on the other hand, the Chronicler has perhaps placed the event in this year simply because he could then more easily understand the unfortunate death of the king. He consequently describes this death itself immediately afterwards, departing somewhat from the more ancient work.

on this occasion, the only ones which have come down to us in a perfect condition, were certainly not his first. The severe and imperative tone of his language places him altogether among the prophets of the ancient type, and he no doubt commenced his labours during the minority of king Joash. In the midst of the deepest woes which then afflicted the kingdom, his great soul grasped all the more powerfully the eternal hope of the true community, and impressed it all the more indelibly on the people, alike by the fiery glow of his clear insight and the entrancing beauty of his passionate utterance, and all this made him one of the chief instruments in the creation of the new spiritual tendency which was needed by his own time, and which afterwards continually increased in strength. The blessed hopes to which he gave birth became food of heaven to all succeeding ages; and to the centuries which immediately followed they afforded that spiritual consolation and cheering anticipation of better days at last, which could not be dispensed with when the ancient greatness and glory of Israel were sinking in irrevocable decline.

Devastating inroads on the part of the surrounding nations, repulsed with greater or less success, were probably repeated almost every year during the forty years' reign of Joash. Yet we see clearly what a healthy disposition and what an enterprising spirit were maintained at the same time within the kingdom by an example of which the remembrance has been preserved in some detail. The temple of Solomon stood in need, at that time, of many repairs or improvements; the very foundations of this immense structure seem to have suffered,[1] and the most costly utensils had disappeared, probably in consequence of the inroad of Hazael. The remedies to be adopted were discussed, and since the crown was then far from being able, as in the days of Solomon, to accomplish everything, a royal decree commanded the priests to apply for the repair of the sacred edifice a portion of the revenues of the temple, viz. the so-called fluctuating fund; that is, not what was originally instituted[2] for the support of the temple, but what accrued to

[1] This follows from the intimation, only too short, in 2 Chron. xxiv. 27, epitomised from an older work.

[2] Or the *permanent* funds and resources of a sanctuary, in Islam called الوقف. The שׁוּבָר (2 Kings xii. 5 [4]) is not, therefore, to be explained either from the totally different expression Gen. xxiii. 16, or, with the Targum, from Ex. xxx. 13, since it can by no means signify 'the reviewed,' besides which at this time the ancient poll-tax certainly no longer fell to the temple, but to the king. Of course the sacrificial money belonged to the fluctuating fund, and for this reason the fact of its forming an exception to the general application of the fund is expressly stated 2 Kings xii. 17 [16].

it from occasional gifts, consisting partly of redemption money for vows, and partly of free-will offerings for the temple. But for a long time no adequate benefit was derived from this new arrangement. The priests found that it not only infringed their prescriptive rights, but also laid fresh burdens upon them, for each individual had to account for the money he received from those who came to him and to hand it over for other objects, and even in certain respects to occupy himself with building matters. Moreover, the people themselves had no means of knowing whether their money was always delivered over and applied properly, and seem therefore to have become less liberal in their voluntary offerings. In this way the work failed to proceed satisfactorily, and so, in the twenty-third year of his reign, the king, in concert with the priests, devised a better plan. The money was to be received at the entrance of the temple by the priests who kept watch there, but was to be deposited at once in a chest close to the great brazen altar on the right hand; from time to time it was to be taken out by the king's minister of finance and the high priest, counted, and handed over to competent overseers, who, without rendering any further account of it, were to distribute it to the individual workmen. Thus the principal architects who took charge of the money, being selected officers, could be fully trusted;[1] and it was clearly in consequence of this new arrangement that the building of the temple subsequently made such extraordinary progress.[2] The supply of gold and silver utensils for the temple had, however, to be provided for by other means.[3]

Thus we see the high priest Jehoiada still in full activity in

[1] This fact is brought forward so emphatically 2 Kings xii. 16 [15], and again xxii. 4–7, that we cannot but ask what sort of men these were in whom such unreserved confidence was felt. According to 2 Chron. xxxiv. 12, they were four Levites, and indeed we should hardly expect to see any but distinguished Levites appointed to this post of trust; and the priesthood seems also to have attached importance to the abstinence of the crown from mixing itself up any further with the matter. For the rest, the Chronicler, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 11–13. has treated this, as well as many other passages of history in which the Levites played an important part, with great freedom.

[2] Cf. what is related in the history of Jotham, 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.

[3] The account is evidently taken from the State-annals. But the Chronicler, xxiv. 4–14, cf. xxxiv. 9, worked it up in such a way as to make it appear the most suitable pattern for the circumstances of his own age, and it is easy to see by comparing the accounts, what is simply peculiar to him. For the rest, וַיְעַרְ must be read, 2 Kings xii. 11 [10], according to 2 Chron. xxiv. 11.—The sons of Athaliah, who, according to 2 Chron. xxiv. 7, intentionally damaged the temple, must not be identified with the brothers of Ahaziah who had already fallen under Jehoram (p. 95 sq.); and the assertion that these bastards perverted all the consecrated offerings of the temple to the service of Baal, is at any rate not absolutely contradicted by the account in 2 Kings xii. 19 [18] which is omitted in the Chronicles.

the twenty-third year of this reign. According to the Chronicles he died at the age of one hundred and thirty, and was buried among the kings. Heathenism, it is related in the Chronicles, endeavoured to force its way back after his death, so that several prophets rose against it, among whom Zechariah, the son of this very high priest, while addressing the people in the temple was stoned by them, the king being privy to their design.[1]—During the feeble rule of this prince there could hardly fail to be internal disturbances of a pernicious nature; and he himself fell in the forty-seventh year of his age before a conspiracy of two of his grandees, Jozachar and Jehozabad,[2] who murdered him as he was transacting some business in the fortress.[3]

2. His son and successor Amaziah[4] was only too complete a contrast to his father in love of enterprise and valour, so that his end proved equally disastrous. He punished his father's murderers at once, but spared the life of their sons, an instance of moderation, for which he was most highly commended by the Deuteronomist author of the history of the kings. He then fought successfully against the Idumeans in the Valley of Salt, south of the Dead Sea, where ten thousand of their number fell. He followed this up by taking their chief city Petra (Sela) by storm, and after its reduction, in which it must have suffered great injuries, he rebuilt it and called it Joktheel, after an old Jewish city. We may take for granted that no native king was left to the Idumeans. The Chronicles[5] assert that after the conquest of the metropolis ten thousand captive Idumeans were hurled down from the highest peak of their rocks, and certainly mutual hatred was at that time so bitter that such a deed of vengeance is not incredible.

[1] The murder of this prophet is in itself open to the less doubt, from the fact of the Chronicler's finding, according to xxiv. 27, in his principal document, a number of oracles recorded against the king. And, indeed, under his weak rule heathenism may subsequently have again found means of making its way in more freely. For the rest, it is a mistake to suppose that this Zechariah, son of Jehoiada, is the one referred to Matt. xxiii. 35. See *Die drei ersten Evv.* p. 329. On the tomb which is now ascribed to him on the mount of Olives, see Tit. Tobler's *Siloahquelle*, p. 287 sqq., *Journ. Asiat.* 1850, i. p. 310 sq., and the account in Fürst's *Karäer*, ii. p. 89.

[2] These two names, 2 Kings xii. 22 [21], are given somewhat differently and at the same time with further particulars in 2 Chron. xxiv. 25 sq. The one is represented as the son of an Ammonite, the other of a Moabite mother, and the motive of the deed as their consequent desire to revenge the murder of Zechariah on the king.

[3] Vol. iii. p. 258 sq.

[4] The reading of the LXX, Αμεσσίας, and that of the Peshito in the Old Testament (and therefore of the M'pharsho in Matthew i. 8) אמציה (after אֲמַצְיָה), are fully explained from my *Lehrb.* § 213*b* and 149*a–c*.

[5] 2 Chron. xxv. 12. In ver. 8 of the same chapter ולא must be supplied before יבשילך; otherwise the passage gives no sense.

Before going out to this war, according to the Chronicles, he took one hundred thousand Israelites into pay for one hundred talents of silver, in addition to his own three hundred thousand well-armed soldiers; but when a prophet represented to him that he would be more likely to be victorious alone than with these hirelings from an idolatrous kingdom, he disbanded them. Offended by this dismissal, they fell upon the northern cities of Judah, plundered them and slew three thousand men, while the king was engaged in Edom. The colouring of this representation proceeds entirely from the Chronicler, but it is in itself probable that a number of Israelites were roving about in search of booty at this time, and the Chronicler must have found an account of this sort in an ancient document.—According to the older historical work the misunderstandings which arose directly afterwards between Amaziah and Joash king of Israel had no connexion with these events. In the sheer insolence of victory the former proposed war to the latter, and since the kingdom of Israel had at that time been so long held down by the Arameans,[1] Amaziah would not expect much resistance from Joash, who had certainly not yet won his victories over the Arameans. Joash, however, warned him off at first with a contemptuous parable, and then, since Amaziah would not desist, marched out against him and defeated him at Beth-shemesh, west of Jerusalem, and even took him prisoner on the battle-field. Jerusalem was now unable to withstand the conqueror, and submitted on disgraceful conditions. A large piece of the northern wall had to be razed, all the treasures to be found in the temple or the palace surrendered, and noble hostages given for future good conduct. Amaziah did not regain his freedom till after the death of Joash, and the new king Jeroboam II. may also have put an end to the other oppressive measures against Judah.[2] But Amaziah's authority had been shaken to its roots, and the Idumeans probably soon threw off the yoke of Israel almost entirely, and recommenced their marauding excursions.[3] The result of all this was that the whole people, not as in the previous instance one or two ambitious nobles, at length rose in revolt against him in Jerusalem. The king, driven from the city, fled to the south-west to Lachish, where he was overtaken and put to death. His body, however, was taken back to Jerusalem and buried with honour. He died in the twenty-ninth

[1] P. 120 sqq.

[2] No doubt this is the reason why mention is made in 2 Kings xiv. 17, quite contrary to usage, of the number of years for which he survived his conqueror, viz., fifteen.

[3] Hence Uzziah sought to chastise them again immediately after his accession; and what Amos says, i. 11, ix. 12, about Edom, can only be understood on this hypothesis.

year of his reign, and the fifty-fourth year of his age. He had always been loyal to the worship of Jahveh.[1]

3. Victorious in this revolt, the people raised his son Uzziah[2] to the throne, at the age of sixteen years. This young prince, elevated by the nation itself, seems therefore not to have been the first-born son of Amaziah, but in his reign of fifty-two years he proved himself one of the most vigorous and successful of rulers. Equally great in the arts of peace and in those of war, he fully restored the internal prosperity and external honour of Judah, and extended his sway more widely than any king of Judah had hitherto done. One of his first enterprises was a victorious campaign against Edom. He pushed forward to the seaport Elath on the Red Sea, rebuilt this important city, and there, probably, re-established the navigation, which had been attempted by Jehoshaphat[3] some ninety years earlier without any favourable result.[4] The reduction of the other tribes who lived farther to the south, especially of the Maonites or Minites,[5] was easy, after the complete subjection of the Idumeans, the boldest and most powerful of the southern peoples. He was equally successful in his battles to the west and south-west, against the Philistine kingdoms. He razed the walls of Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod to the ground, so that probably only Gaza and Askelon remained unconquered; but he founded new cities on the subjugated territories of all this district, in which, no doubt, Philistines and Hebrews were to dwell together.[6] He strengthened the walls of Jerusalem with

[1] According to 2 Kings xiv. 3. The Chronicler, on the other hand, 2 Chron. xxv. 14–16, 27, refers his foreign and domestic misfortunes to the worship of Idumean idols, to which he had given himself up after his return from Idumea, in spite of the warnings of a prophet whose name is not given; but it is impossible for us to tell from what source this representation was derived.

[2] This name Uzziah is always found in the strictly prophetic books, and in the Chronicles except in 1 Chron. iii. 12; but in 2 Kings xiv. 21 to xv. 27 the name Azariah is often found instead, though even here the other name is also found, xv. 13, 30, 32. These relations between the passages in which the two names occur might lead us to suppose that the name Azariah, which differs but little, in the Hebrew character, from the other, had been introduced simply by accident into the passages of the book of Kings in which it is still found, cf. the case mentioned p. 47 *note* 9; it is, however, more probable that Azariah was the name borne by Uzziah before his accession to the throne. Similar instances of kings of Judah having two names have already occurred, iii. p. 271, supra p. 95; and more will occur hereafter.

[3] P. 56.

[4] 2 Kings xiv. 21 sq.; cf. xvi. 6.

[5] On these tribes see i. p. 239. The LXX are certainly wrong in reading Minites instead of Ammonites in 2 Chron. xxvi. 8 also; for, independently of the fact that although the subjugation of the Ammonites appears surprising at first sight, it is nevertheless fully established as historical, the connexion of the words shows that the tribe mentioned in ver. 8 is quite different from that mentioned in ver. 7. The place *Gur-Baal*, 2 Chron. xxvi. 7, is more obscure, unless indeed we are to read the first word as *Gerar* with the Targum, for the two places are connected in the same way, 1 Chron. iv. 39–41; cf. i. p. 245.

[6] 2 Chron. xxvi. 6. This was the origin of the *Bastards* of whom mention is made in Zech. ix. 6; cf. *Alterth.* p. 272 sq.

towers at the three weakest points, viz. the north-west and north-east corners and the southern point of the valley of the Tyropœon, and furnished them with elaborate engines of defence.[1] He also made similar provisions for other fortresses about the country.[2] His militia, which was always well equipped and disciplined, consisted of three hundred and seven thousand five hundred men.[3] But agriculture had still greater charms for him than war, and he took all means to encourage it in every department. He set lofty sheep-towers in the wildernesses, had a number of wells sunk in them, and was himself the possessor of large herds, rich vineyards, and extensive corn-lands under high cultivation.[4] He always remained faithfully devoted to the worship of Jahveh; contemporary with him was a celebrated prophet of the name of Zechariah, about whom, however, no further particulars have been preserved;[5] and, as the surest sign of a good reign, we see the general tone of the national mind elevated to a higher level, and a number of excellent men of every description rising by the side of this excellent ruler.[6]

The longer Uzziah ruled in this spirit, the higher must the kingdom rise in the estimation of the nations far and wide. When the prophet Hosea first uttered his oracles in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, towards the end of the reign of Jeroboam II., his profound and penetrating soul looked with an infinite yearning towards Judah, and expected divine salvation thence alone;[7] and though the grounds on which this feeling rested were not exclusively due to the labours of king Uzziah, yet he contributed largely towards making Judah's hidden treasure of the true religion known among the nations. And when, on the fall of the house of Jehu, the countries beyond Jordan were thrown into great confusion; Ammon, Moab, and the Hebrew districts lying between them, implored the protection of Uzziah and paid him a yearly tribute.[8] This surprising phenomenon, which, however, is historically beyond question,

[1] 2 Chron. xxvi. 9, 15; cf. the remarks in vol. iii. p. 254 sqq. and p. 258 sq.

[2] Hos. viii. 14; comp. generally with Is. ii. 7 sq., Mic. v. 9 [10] sq.

[3] 2 Chron. xxvi. 11–14; cf. p. 57.

[4] 2 Chron. xxvi. 10; comp. with this description of the beauty of a country life Prov. xxvii. 23–27, which may have been written at this very time.

[5] According to 2 Chron. xxvi. 5, this Zechariah cannot have lived longer than the later days of Uzziah, and must, therefore, be different from the son of Berechiah mentioned in Is. viii. 2.

[6] This is clearly shown by such judgments and anticipations as Zech. x. 4, Micah v. 4 [5]; to say nothing of the great prophets Amos, Isaiah, and others.

[7] Hos. x. 7; cf. iii. 5, and above, p. 131 sq.

[8] We read in 2 Chron. xxvi. 8 comp. with xxvii. 5 that Ammon paid tribute, but Uzziah could not well protect the land of Ammon if he had not an approach to it over the southernmost portion of the Jordan. That Moab submitted to him at about the same time follows clearly from the manner in which a prophet of Judah had already represented this people, before the time of Isaiah, as addressing the ruler of Jerusalem, Is. xvi. 1–6; for

is sufficiently explained by the circumstances of the time. Ammon and Moab had been again subject to the kingdom of the Ten Tribes for half a century, though they retained princes of their own. Damascus, itself in a state of dissolution at the time, could guarantee them no protection; and yet the Assyrians in the distance, and the constantly repeated incursions of the Arabian tribes [1] near at hand, seemed so threatening, that they voluntarily sought the protection of the just and powerful monarch who already possessed Edom on their southern boundary, and had subdued the neighbouring Arabs. By this arrangement, moreover, they retained their own princes.[2] These relations continued under Uzziah's son Jotham, but led to fresh complications in his time, as will be explained hereafter.

Uzziah himself was afflicted towards the close of his life with a leprosy, which compelled him, according to ancient custom, to dwell in the hospital away from all society;[3] but this state of things cannot have lasted more than a few years at most, since his son Jotham, who resembled him in character, and governed during his seclusion, was only five-and-twenty at his father's death. According to the Chronicles he was smitten with this leprosy, apparently as a divine punishment, at the very moment when, in a kind of presumptuous confidence, he had entered the priests' court in the temple, intending to offer a sacrifice there with his own hand, though he was prevented

Moab could only have been represented as thinking and speaking in that way at a time when a king renowned far and wide was ruling in Jerusalem so prosperously that even foreign nations in peril of their lives might wish to submit to him; and this points to the best days of king Uzziah. The words of Num. xxiv. 18 sqq. indicate the same period; cf. the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* viii. p. 35 sq.—The land of Gilead, inhabited by Hebrews, must have been hurried into this movement on account of Ammon and Moab; and, no doubt, was glad to seek Uzziah's protection. But especially clear is the indication in the statement in 1 Chron. v. 17, referred to on p. 124, where Jotham, simply as king of Judah, is named before Jeroboam II., and in the mention of the great plain (Mîshôr) with its rich pastures where Uzziah's flocks were kept, as well as on the great plain on the Mediterranean, 2 Chron. xxvi. 10; for we learn from Josh. xiii. 9–21, xx. 8, Jer. xlviii. 21, that this plain was a well-known place and was situated beyond the Jordan. It follows, however, from the general circumstances of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, as depicted above, that these imported changes in the Trans-Jordanic districts did not begin before the fall of the house of Jehu.

[1] That Ammon and Moab had much to endure from these incursions may be safely concluded both from the general position which these nations had retained from ancient times (ii. p. 334), and from the frequent mention of incursions of Arabian tribes into Judah. But we also possess distinct evidence of the fact in the fragments of the ancient unknown prophet of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, who composed the Moab-oracle so celebrated among his later countrymen, and who certainly uttered this oracle before Jeroboam II. subdued Moab. Is. xv., xvi. 7–13; cf. *Die Propheten des A. B.* i. p. 229 [ii. p. 380, 2nd ed.; Trans. ii. p. 136]. Edom may sometimes have joined the tribes of the desert in these enterprises; at any rate. Amos ii. 1 clearly alludes to a deed of vengeance wreaked by Moab on Edom which is most readily explained on this supposition.

[2] Cf. 2 Chron. xxvii. 5.

[3] See the *Alterth.* p. 179 sqq.

in time from doing so by the high priest Azariah and eighty other priests.[1] The colouring of the narrative in this instance is entirely that of the Chronicler, and it is to be regretted that we possess no older account of all these circumstances; but it is plain that this powerful king aimed at the same independence of the priests in which Solomon had governed,[2] and only too probable that this exposed him to many attacks in these more scrupulous times.

4. This much, however, is quite clear, that the southern kingdom boldly raised itself to fresh power and eminence at the very time at which the northern was drawing near its final dissolution; and for the second time since the disruption of the Davidic monarchy it was proved how rich a treasure of almost inexhaustible power for good lay dormant in this little state. But no doubt the rise of that spiritualised prophetism already described[3] contributed much to this fresh elevation of the whole kingdom.

But the break-up and dissolution of the ancient life of the people in Israel, as already shown in general terms,[4] advanced with such rapid strides during the whole of this period that even Judah was less and less able to withstand the movement. The freedom with which, in the ruin of the ancient power of the crown, the representatives of every class and interest rose up and endeavoured to monopolise all power and authority, is strikingly illustrated by the last-mentioned instance of priestly arrogance towards king Uzziah; for Uzziah's desire to sacrifice with his own hands was nothing but an attempt to re-establish in the person of this powerful and victorious king the full royal prerogatives which had been exercised without opposition by David and Solomon;[5] but since many of the intermediate kings had even gone so far as to embrace the worship of idols, the priesthood had become only too jealously punctilious in its relations to the royal power, and carried out its determination in opposition even to king Uzziah. At the same time the old national life of wars and camps which had once been reconstituted in full force in the time of David, gradually disappeared in spite of the constantly recurring wars subsequent to the age of Solomon. The ancient subjugation of the Canaanites was never more fully avenged than by the fact that the very nation which had once conquered them and then long accustomed itself

[1] This story was afterwards embellished still further and even connected with the earthquake under Uzziah, p. 131 *note* 1, as we see from Josephus, *Ant.* ix. 10. 4.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 298.

[3] P. 129 sqq.

[4] P. 114 sq.

[5] Vol. iii. pp. 200, 246, 297.

to speak in scorn of them as 'traders,'[1] now grew more and more like them in love of commerce and acquisition. And this spirit was no longer confined, as before, to certain special localities; but it spread everywhere, even in Judah, and that too, not because some few kings, such as Solomon, favoured commerce, but because the desire for the profits of trade, and the undisturbed enjoyment of the greatest possible wealth had seized on every class with overpowering strength. The scorn heaped by the prophets on this aiming at rapid gains, and their denunciation of the tendency to cheat which so easily resulted from it, no longer availed to bring back the ancient simplicity and content;[2] and besides, the great length and prosperity (comparatively speaking) of Uzziah's reign was eminently favourable in Judah to the extension of this preference for civilian profits and enjoyment. The rapid circulation of money in the lower ranks and the increased passion for gain which continuously swept through the whole nation, stimulated similar desires in the upper strata of society; and in Judah, too, many were the complaints of the injustice of the judges and the oppression of the helpless.[3] Moreover, the love of doubting and impugning everything,[4] of openly denouncing even the best prophets and contemptuously rejecting their truest admonitions,[5] of learning the mysteries of heathen religions and introducing their gods even when the king himself did not countenance them,[6]—all this became harder and harder to restrain in this generation, even in Judah. And so in this kingdom also, in spite of its greater earnestness, the national life strove to assume a hundred new forms of greater freedom; and there was danger lest the contest now aroused between the ancient and the modern spirit might cause a grievous spread of impurity and dissoluteness of morals. While the better prophets and many of the kings endeavoured to check these tendencies, the provincial town of Lachish, for instance, could not be restrained from being the first to introduce the low forms of the religion of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes; and

[1] Vol. iii. p. 138.

[2] Hos. xii. 8 [7] sq., Is. ii. 7.

[3] Amos iii. 1 sqq., vi. 1 sqq., Hos. v. 10. We may also cite Ps. xii., for this poem expresses with great vividness the feelings to which the first prophetic threats of this description must have given rise.

[4] Amos vi. 3, ix. 10; cf. Hos. iv. 4.

[5] As one may easily gather from all the discourses of an Amos, a Hosea, an Isaiah.

[6] Amos ii. 4, Hos. iv. 15, vi. 11, xii. 1 [xi. 12], Is. ii. 8 sqq. Not even by the Chronicles is the guilt of any kind of idolatry attributed to the kings Uzziah and Jotham, and it must, therefore, have been solely through the guilt of the people that it found admission in their times. The idolatry earlier practised in Israel, to which Amos alludes, was probably, according to his meaning, that of the time of Solomon and his immediate successors.

this example was soon afterwards extensively followed even in Jerusalem.[1]

When Amos, therefore, at the beginning of Uzziah's reign, denounced the kingdom of the Ten Tribes and foretold its speedy destruction, his anticipations for Judah also could not be altogether cheering; the fallen tabernacle of David would, he thought, be set up once more, but not until it had been rent with the utmost violence. Even Hosea, who at first turned from the kingdom of the Ten Tribes to Judah with undivided hope, was afterwards convinced by his own inspection that it was in peril of falling into the very same moral dangers.[2] And when Isaiah, in the year of Uzziah's death, began his prophetic work in Jerusalem, he looked into the immediate future with nothing but sadness, and predicted that a great purification must take place, which would leave nothing of the ancient kingdom except a small indestructible remnant.[3] Thus the approaching supremacy of the Assyrians was preparing a crisis for the southern kingdom also, in which it would have to give a proof of its noblest powers, wholly different from anything that had been called for at any previous juncture.

C. THE ASSYRIANS.

I. NATURE OF THEIR EMPIRE.

This is not the proper place for investigating the origin and ancient history of the great Assyrian empire, especially as none of the much-discussed accounts of the Assyrians in Herodotus, Ctesias, and other Grecian writers, can be taken in hand again to any purpose, until the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions have been deciphered and the other Assyrian antiquities further explored.[4] It is certain that no Assyrian kingdom had any

[1] Micah i. 5, 13.

[2] See the *Propheten des A. B.* i. p. 119 [i. 173, 2nd ed.; i. 212. Trans.].

[3] Is. vi.; cf. ii.–v.

[4] On this point there is hardly anything more to be said now in 1865 than there was in 1846; to save space, I may refer to my articles in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1850, p. 929 sqq., 1851, pp. 987, 593 sqq., 1860, pp. 109–111, and 193–195, on the works of Layard, Rawlinson, and Oppert; Rawlinson's supposed discovery of Scythian in these cuneiform inscriptions is anticipated in the *Lit. Gazette*, Lond. 1853, Feb. 26. Nothing certainly is more to be desired than that we might be able to consult the annals of Assyrian histories; they contained much information, according to Orig. *contra Cels.* i. 3, 1, about the wars with Israel; but with regard to the present interpretations of the cuneiform inscriptions, the first requisite of the historical investigator is caution. At any rate, we cannot as yet attach any importance to the clear light supposed to be derived from the reading of these inscriptions, according to which a great Assyrian victory over Israel took place as early as in the time of *Jehu*, p. 120 sqq. Should we hereafter be able to define more closely (as I desire and hope we may) the relations of Israel to other nations in these Assyro-Chaldean times, as well as certain portions of the chronology, still the great historical truths which constitute the most powerful and beautiful portion of the

significance for the people of Israel before the second half of the period of the house of Jehu. The Book of Origins does indeed mention the Assyrians as an important Semitic people;[1] and since, as far as we can now tell, the language spoken round Nineveh, that is in Assyria proper east of the Tigris,[2] at every period up to the present day, has been Aramean, this work seems to have brought Assyria into greater prominence than the other kingdoms peopled by Arameans, simply because it had already attained to greater importance. We may be content to allow the ancient tradition to pass unchallenged according to which the Assyrian monarchy had existed five hundred and twenty years before the revolt of the Medes (under Sennacherib);[3] and it was certainly renovated some time in the course of this period, perhaps tolerably early in it, by the infusion of a foreign warlike race. That some such race did remodel this kingdom and retain its own non-Semitic speech, although the language of the people continued to be Aramean,[4] is proved at any rate from the ninth century downwards by the names of the kings and some others, especially the titles of dignities, contained in the Old Testament. As late as the time of David and Solomon the Assyrian power did not yet extend beyond the Euphrates, and probably did not even embrace Mesopotamia; so that, as far as we can tell, it was the new dominant race which first reawakened in the people the energy and passion for war, after the ninth century before Christ.[5] It is true that

national history of Israel would not suffer in the smallest degree. Cf. *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* ix. p. 130, x. p. 173, xii. p. 41.

[1] Gen. x. 22, where the Lydians were connected with them as in the Genealogy of Herodotus, i. 7.

[2] City and province, أثور, the city different from Nineveh and the present Maussil (Môsul); cf. *Zeitsch. der Deutsch. Morg. Gesell.* 1864, p. 431.

[3] Herodot. i. 95. The forty-five kings who ruled over Babylon for five hundred and twenty-six years, and who succeeded Semiramis, according to Berosus (apud Euseb. *Chron.* i. p. 40 sq.) are not clearly stated in this passage to have been Assyrians, though they are probably to be understood as such, or at least as dependent on the Assyrians; though they were succeeded, it is said, by the well-known Pul. We are justified, however, by the words in Gen. x. 8–12, cf. ver. 22, in inferring that the traces mentioned i. p. 342 sq., p. 390 sq., ii. p. 318, of a much more ancient ascendancy of the Aramean nation spreading from the Tigris and Euphrates are not unhistorical. Cf. also the remarks in *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. p. 194 sq., ix. p. 127 sqq.

[4] According to Is. xxxvi. 11. On the other hand, such descriptions as Is. xxxiii. 19 point to a non-Semitic language at any rate among the rulers. On later opinions cf. Chwolson's *Ssâbier*, ii. p. 697 sq.

[5] That the Assyrian monarchy, even in its more ancient periods, was not free from many internal convulsions and changes of dynasty, would be a safe conclusion from the general condition of every kingdom in those times; but we are now only acquainted with the overthrow of the Dercetads, i.e. the successors of Semiramis, by Beletaras or Balatores (according to Bion and Alex. Polyhist. in Agathias' *Hist.* ii. 25, p. 119 ed. Bonn), which perhaps coincides with what Herodotus considered the commencement of the monarchy itself, since Beletaras is said to have reigned rather more than five hundred and twenty years before Sardanapalus. But if the fragments in Euseb. *Chron.* from Berosus are to be relied on, this author appears to date a fresh development of the monarchy from Pul.

every clear historical indication points to the fact that long before this period the Assyrian monarchy possessed extensive dominions to the north and north-west, as far as the river Kir, or Kur,[1] which flows into the Caspian Sea, and embraced Media[2] to the east and Babylon[3] on the south, together with Elam on the other side of the Tigris; but there must have been an interval of lassitude and disorganisation; for it is not until the time at which we now arrive that we see the Assyrian kings adopting a fixed plan for the foundation of a universal empire, subduing with equal severity districts far and near, and when they had subjugated everything on the east of the Tigris and Euphrates, boldly turning their eyes to all the countries on the west as far as the Nile. The first king of this description of whom we have any record, is Shalman. He conquered the district of Arbela, the capital of Adiabene, which must have asserted its independence some time previously. It lay not far east of Nineveh, from which it was separated by the Zab, and was treated with such military severity that the report spread far and wide in every direction.[4] To the same period, or nearly so, we may assign the conquest in rapid succession of Gozan and Haran on the Chaboras in Mesopotamia, as well as of Carchemish (Kîrkêsion) at the confluence of the Chaboras and the Euphrates, which opened the way to the countries of the west, and of Calno (in the neighbourhood of the later Ktesiphon), a city of ancient renown on the Tigris.[5] Territory on the west of the Euphrates had certainly been gained as early as the reign of Pul;[6] Tiglath-Pileser had next advanced still further west,

[1] According to Amos i. 5; cf. 2 Kings xvi. 9, Is. xxii. 6.

[2] According to Herodot. i. 95–103; comp. with 2 Kings xvii. 6, xviii. 11.

[3] According to all the Greek accounts; cf. Micah iv. 10. On Elam see Is. xxii. 6.

[4] It is true that the only indication of this fact which we still possess is the passage Hos. x. 14, which was already misunderstood by the LXX; but the words of Hosea and the reference to his times admit of no other interpretation, and, in connexion with events of which we know from other sources, the affair is quite conceivable.

[5] It follows from Is. x. 9–11 that all these and the two following cities were conquered in the order here observed; for it is clear that in this enumeration of a number of the cities overthrown by the Assyrians attention is paid to the order of their conquest, more strictly indeed than in the otherwise corresponding passages 2 Kings xviii. 34, xix. 12 sq. Calno, when Amos wrote, was still an independent kingdom, Amos vi. 2.

[6] This may be seen from the very fact that Menahem could not otherwise have called in Pul to his assistance. Probably, however, the two cities of Rezeph and Telassar, distinguished from the rest in 2 Kings xix. 12, Is. xxxvii. 12, belonged to this district. The context certainly leaves it to be supposed that these cities lay just on the west of the Euphrates, and they may still be identified in this locality. The first is the city still mentioned by Abulf. *Géogr.* p. 271, a day's journey west of Raqqa on the Euphrates, Rhêsapha in Ptolem. *Geogr.* v. 15, Rosapha in the *Notitia Dignitatum Orientis* (ed, Böcking, p. 87 sq.) and Joh. Ephes. *Hist. Syr.* vi. 4. Telassar I should identify with Theleda in the Tab. Peuting. not far from Palmyra, in about the same place as Berghaus' map (Gotha, 1835) places Telletherah; Telsea, also, for Thelesea or Theleser in the *Not. Dign. Orient.*, p. 84 sq. is probably

and taken possession of Hamath, while Arphad,[1] to the north of it, had already fallen before the new power at a still earlier date. The small Syrian kingdoms last named, together with Damascus, remembering their former power, endeavoured after the death of Jeroboam II. to assert their freedom under native princes, and experienced a brief return of independence, but without ever any further regaining their former power.

This Assyrian monarchy, with the mighty aspirations of its rejuvenated energy, and unaffected as yet by the degeneration into which it fell under Sennacherib fifty years later, was well calculated to impress with awe all the nations west of the Euphrates, and Israel among them. Already in those early times the Assyrian people showed the greatest resemblance in the arts of war and empire to the Romans, just as it began the universal dominion which the Romans at last consummated; and the simple contemplation of the figures of the Assyrian warriors on the works of art now exhumed from the ruins of their cities, so totally different in bearing, in weapons, and in costume, from the Egyptians, suffices to show how it was possible for them to found an empire over the then known world by a very different method from that formerly pursued by the Egyptians. Into the countries of the south-west they poured hordes of rough soldiers from the most distant north and east such as had never been seen there from time immemorial, so that the very aspect of these extraordinary troops, so wild and yet preserving such excellent discipline, inspired universal terror;[2] and indeed it is an unmistakable fact that these Assyrian hosts commenced a movement of the warlike nations of the north against the nations of the south which was continued with but little alteration under the names of the Scythians, the Chaldeans, and the Medo-Persians during the following centuries. Not only were the modes of warfare adopted by these armies totally different from those prevailing among the nations west of the Euphrates, but the objects of their wars were still more unlike any which had hitherto been pursued in these countries. During

the same place. The 'sons of Eden' who lived there were certainly an old Aramean stock, for this name Eden also recurs elsewhere in Aramean countries; cf. Tel. Ede near Warkah in Loftus' *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 118 sqq.

[1] This city is probably the later Ravend or Ravendân, a very strong place north-west of Haleb, Schult. *Vita Salad.* p. 65, Abulf. *Géogr.* p. 267, ed. Par. A similar change of sound is shown in the name of the Phœnician city Zarfend for the ancient Zarephath.

[2] See the picturesque descriptions of Is. v. 26–29, xiv. 31, xxii. 6, Deut. xxviii. 49 sqq. The Assyrians, moreover, are the people which is not a people, the people out of the order of humanity, which is so inexplicably strange that a thousand warriors of Israel flee before ten of them, Deut. xxxii. 21, 30, Lev. xxvi. 17.

the last centuries, the wars between the numerous little kingdoms of the west had degenerated more and more into simple marauding expeditions. It was thought sufficient to plunder and bleed a weaker enemy; the conquered monarchs were left on their thrones if they promised to pay a heavy tribute, and everything was considered in its bearing on immediate profit and the pursuit of wealth and enjoyment; a fatherland, a great empire successfully resisting wrong by a higher rectitude, unity, and power, had ceased to be even thought of. But the 'contentious' king, as the Assyrian monarch was now preeminently called,[1] desired to found a single great and mighty empire, in which the passions of petty nationalities might be quenched; and accordingly he was not satisfied with rich booty, nor yet with the promise or even the actual payment of heavy tribute,[2] but wherever he encountered any opposition, he at once took the severest measures for crushing it for ever. The gentlest expedient adopted for this purpose, was the removal of all the more vigorous and powerful inhabitants of a country to some distant part of the empire, with orders not to cross the boundaries of this new place assigned them as a residence under pain of death; a stronger measure, which might be put in force after repeated rebellion, was the complete destruction of the subjugated kingdom, together with the deportation of almost all the inhabitants without exception, and the substitution of others in their place. It was a fundamental principle with the Assyrian king to bring the conquered sovereigns to his court, and either keep them there in profound humiliation, or, if it seemed safe, march to battle, surrounded by their ranks.[3] From this custom originated the title preserved in the later empires of the Chaldeans and Persians of *King of Kings*, or *Great King*.[4] But the king's viceroys were feared yet more than his soldiers. Like the later Persian Satraps and Roman Proconsuls, they were sent into the subjugated countries endowed with the most absolute power, and for the first time in the world's history they made the name of *Legate* (king's messenger) a terror to the nations.[5] In this, too, the Assyrian monarchy was only

[1] Hos. v. 13, x. 6.

[2] This is described very clearly on an occasion in the life of Hezekiah, Is. xxxvi. sq. cf. 2 Kings xviii. 13–17; but, even independently of this, it is shown by all the traces of history.

[3] According to Is. x. 8, xxxvi. 4, Ps. xlviii. 3, 5 [2, 4], sqq. Ez. xxvi. 7, and other evidences. In Hos. viii. 10 the name occurs, with a slight change, as the *king of princes*.

[4] The word شهنشاه, Shahinshâh, also, is only abbreviated from Shâhânshâh.

[5] מֹלְאָכִים, Nah. ii. 14; cf. Is. xxx. 4. In the Shâhnâmeh, also, the فرستاده is at the same time the باژخواه, *collector of tribute*. But even the Ethiopic preserves a

the type of its Persian successor, so that no proper estimate of its full significance can be formed without reflecting that it was the first nation in that quarter of the world to lay the foundations of a universal empire, which was continually striving under whatever variations of race or nationality to regain its position. (See also vol. v. p. 107, *note* 1.)

It is the merit of the great prophets of Israel who arose at this time to have early recognised and clearly announced the profound importance of these Assyrians, and the divine destiny to which they were called with regard to all the decaying kingdoms of the south-west. When Jeroboam II. was at the very summit of his power and the Assyrians had not yet crossed the Euphrates, Amos already predicted their coming for the divine chastisement of all the kingdoms of the west, but especially of that of the Ten Tribes: his allusion to them is evident, though he does not mention them by name.[1] When they had crossed the Euphrates and become better known, and many persons in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes looked to them as friends and allies, Hosea foretold distinctly that they would turn out, on the contrary, its destroyers.[2] And then Isaiah described them in the distinctest terms as the heavy rod in the hand of Jahveh for the punishment of all the many nations of the west, and especially of Judah. Indeed, they were coming not only to chastise the two kingdoms of the people of God; all the other greater and smaller kingdoms far into Arabia and Egypt had to suffer equal severity at their hands. Thus the prophets see in them the instruments also for the just chastisement of the manifold heathen follies of the nations by which Israel was immediately surrounded: and the fifth narrator of the primitive history, who at the same time pays more attention to the exposition of Assyrian antiquities,[3] might rightly conclude, on a survey of all the ages, that the descendants of Japhet, that is the northern nations, must from the very first have received a far richer blessing from God than those of the wayward Ham (the Canaanites), and must have been destined to live as guests with Shem (the Hebrews) for the destruction of the Canaanites.[4]

sort of remembrance of this, for מלך means exactly *despot, tyrant*, as, for example, in the book of *Kûfûlae*.

[1] Amos i. 5, 15, vi. 14, vii. 17, ix. 7–10.

[2] Hos. v. 13 sqq., viii. 1, x. 5–8, 14, xiv. 1 [xiii. 16]; see further remarks below.

[3] In the important passage Gen. x. 8–12, the whole of which is inserted by him, though to a large extent in the language of the fourth narrator. According to this passage the earlier foundation and construction of Nineveh was, in the first instance, entirely due to Babylon; and this is unquestionably an ancient and genuine popular tradition from Nineveh itself. For further discussion of this subject see the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 50 sqq.

[4] This is seen on closer examination to be the historical sense of the words of Noah, Gen. ix. 18–27 (cf. the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* ix. p. 19 sqq.); and when

Henceforth the power of the northern nations does certainly exercise an overpowering influence upon the history of all the kingdoms and tribes of the south-west; and it sometimes appeared as if those tribes whom the Hebrews traced up to Ham were to have still more to suffer from the northern warriors than the Hebrews themselves. But the time soon arrived when it was no longer possible to defer the fall of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes at any rate, before the Assyrians; and this event we must now proceed to examine.

II. Fall of the Kingdom of the Ten Tribes.

1. When the house of Jehu was destroyed in the person of its fifth king, no fewer than three military chiefs set themselves up almost at the same time as kings. First comes Shallum, the son of Jabesh, who murdered Zechariah, and succeeded for one month in gaining recognition at Samaria. Next a certain Qobol-am, of whom we know nothing further;[1] probably he made his attempt at usurpation on the east of the Jordan, and was slain by the inhabitants of the district themselves, as a large part of them preferred[2] to surrender themselves to Uzziah, king of Judah. The third was Menahem, the son of Gadi, of the city of Tirzah.[3] This Menahem marched with a large force from his native city against Samaria; but he could not be content without devastating most cruelly on his way the territory of Tiphsah, a city situated not far from Tirzah, because it closed its gates against him; he conquered it at last, however, and treated it with the most brutal hostility;[4] then,

we consider the change in the position of all the nations of the world from this time forward, we see that there was adequate occasion for attributing some such sentence to the forefather of all existing men. The passage is further explained, however, by certain expressions about the Assyrians inserted by the same narrator in the section about Balaam, Num. xxiv. 22, on which see below, and by ver. 24 in which Assyrians and Hebrews are represented as oppressed in common by another foe. The fact that the Book of Origins, Gen. x. 22, does not make Asshur one of the descendants of Japhet, could not furnish any ground of objection to the fifth narrator's deriving the hordes of Assyrian warriors, as northern tribes, from Japhet.

[1] The word קבל־עם, 2 Kings xv. 10, is usually translated 'before the people;' but הבל is nowhere else found in prose, and עם for העם would likewise be extraordinary in simple prose style; moreover, such a remark would be altogether superfluous in this place, and, from the corresponding passages 2 Kings xv. 14, 25, 30 quite unexpected. The word, therefore, should rather be regarded as the proper name of a man, as the LXX still took it to be; in this case it is most correctly treated as a name which was first written in the margin of the historical work to preserve the remembrance of this third king of that month; for at this point the description of that period in the book of Zechariah xi. 8, cf. ver. 5, comes to our assistance as decisive; *Proph. des A. B.* i. p. 321 sq. [i. p. 268, 2nd ed.; i. p. 329. Trans.] In a similar manner we find two very unintelligible names belonging to this period in 2 Kings xv. 25.

[2] According to p. 144 sq.

[3] P. 23.

[4] It is true that no city תפסח occurs anywhere else except the well-known

seizing Samaria and slaying Shallum, he established himself in the sovereignty.

As king, Menahem appeared at first to be animated by better principles;[1] and the land seemed to breathe more freely under him after three incompetent rulers had fallen within one month. He preserved peaceful relations with king Uzziah, notwithstanding that the latter[2] took important territories beyond the Jordan under his protection; for the foreign nations subjugated by Jeroboam II. were no doubt by this time in full revolt again, and the new dynasty had work enough before it in simply restoring some sort of tranquillity to the internal affairs of the distracted kingdom. But experience soon proved how little success could attend such an effort. Public order and discipline had been so thoroughly relaxed, especially during the recent civil wars, that even under the very eye of the new royal authority wild hordes of armed men still continued to break in everywhere, and to plunder almost with impunity, and the whole land seemed to glow from end to end with the wild flames of lawlessness and disorder, as though the wrath of God flashed up with ever-increasing fury.[3] Even the very priests conspired to fall upon the luckless fugitives who attempted to find protection at the sanctuary of Shechem;[4] and Mizpeh especially, the chief city of Gilead, was the scene of the most sanguinary outrages,[5] apparently before this district submitted to Uzziah. Externally the kingdom had lost not only all its power but all its honour, so that it could only with difficulty maintain its position in the face of foreign nations, like a withered old man struggling against the rapid approach of death.[6] The Arameans spread forth from Damascus, where a new kingdom had been formed, and conquered all the northern cities east of the Jordan with Aroer as their capital; from the south-west the Philistines invaded the country, and on either hand these devastations were continued for years.[7] The royal dignity, thus maimed internally and externally, could not raise itself to any great estimation again,[8] although the land had

Thapsacus on the Euphrates, which Solomon possessed (iii. p. 221); but the words 'from Tirzah' are sufficient to prevent us from supposing that this is the city here referred to, 2 Kings xv. 16. It is not surprising that we have no other knowledge of a city of this name in the centre of Palestine, when we consider the great abbreviation to which the accounts of the tribes which dwelt there, Josh. xvi. sq., have been submitted. Semitic cities of the name *Timpsacum* occur elsewhere also.

[1] As is indicated in Zech. xi. 4–8.

[2] P. 144 sq.

[3] Hos iv. 1 sq., vii. 1, Is. ix. 17–20 [18–21], Zech. xi. 6.

[4] Hos. vi. 9; cf. supra, p. 23 sq.

[5] Hos. vi. 8; cf. v. 1 sq.

[6] As Hosea describes in the most various ways, vii. 8 sq., viii. 8, x. 6.

[7] This follows from Is. ix. 10 [11] sq., xvii. 2; cf. Zech. xi. 10. These wars must, at any rate, have been waged before the time of Pekah.

[8] Hos. vii. 3–7.

such bitter experience of the evils of a divided rule and the greed of petty chieftains.[1] In this position of affairs those who had anything left to lose, together with the king himself, began seriously to think of calling in the assistance of some foreign power, in order to re-establish internal tranquillity on a more permanent footing. This party would doubtless beg the intervention of the Assyrians as the nation at that time rendered victorious by the power of its monarchy; while, on the other hand, it was probably the popular party that preferred Egypt, which was then striving after popular freedom. The counsels of the former prevailed, apparently through the co-operation of the king, but though they had already sent the richest tribute to the Assyrian king for some years past, in order to secure his friendship and assistance, they sent certain presents to Egypt at the same time, in order not to spoil their prospects in that direction.[2]

So far we have the most accurate knowledge of the state of things during this reign from Hosea, the last great citizen and prophet of this kingdom, who made one more earnest attempt in its very midst truly to reform the whole people, and warned it of the vanity of treaties with Egyptians or Assyrians. But the unmeasured opposition which his disinterested efforts encountered drove him almost to madness, and he was compelled to flee the country: he betook himself to Judah, where he carried on from a distance through his writings the work he had begun in vain upon the spot. Towards the end of the ten years' reign of Menahem, or at any rate not much earlier,[3] the Assyrian king Pul visited the country in person, to give his powerful support to the native king in his attempt to restore internal tranquillity. When he had accomplished his immediate object, he withdrew as a friend and protector; but it was with a present of one thousand talents of silver and, we may take for granted, the promise of a further yearly tribute. Menahem's resources, however, were so limited, that he was obliged to reimburse himself by imposing contributions on the richer citizens; but it is obvious that the simple reason for the emphasis with which this is stated in the book of Kings, is

[1] This is shown very clearly by the very apophthegms which originated about this time: Prov. xxviii. 2 sq., 12, 15 sq., 28, xxix. 2, 4, 12, 16.

[2] This follows from a comparison of the passages Hos. v. 13, vii. 9, 11 sqq., viii. 9 sq., x. 4, xii. 2 [1]. Hosea nowhere alludes to an invasion of the Assyrians as having already resulted; and it may very well be supposed that Menahem commenced negotiations on the subject and sent presents long beforehand.

[3] בְּיָמָיו has fallen out (after ימין) before בא, 2 Kings xv. 19, according to ver. 29, and partly also to the LXX.

that the people in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes [1] were never willing to pay these tributes. Menahem himself died a natural death, but his son Pekahiah was dethroned and slain in his own harem by an officer of his body-guard, Pekah the son of Remaliah, after a reign of hardly two years; his two confidential attendants Argob and Arieh were also slain with him; and thus this line terminated in the same way as, and only a little sooner than, the two first dynasties of the kingdom, whose whole course was now drawing rapidly to a close.

2. The new king Pekah was certainly, so far as warlike prowess combined with craftiness in diplomacy could qualify anyone, the one man of the day best fitted to ward off for a little while longer the ruin of the decaying kingdom. He came probably from Gilead, from which country fifty desperate warriors had conspired with him to destroy the previous king. During the first years of his reign he was doubtless fully engaged, like most founders of a new house, in establishing his power within his own kingdom, and he certainly seems to have been tolerably successful for some time in keeping down internal hostilities. But how barbarous the means were, which he adopted to suppress the popular ferment, we may gather from the picture of this savage ruler sketched by a contemporary prophet. He was 'a godless shepherd, who betrays the sheep, who takes no care for those that have gone astray, or for those that are faint, but eats the flesh of the fat and tears their hoofs in pieces, who on his arm and his right eye (instead of a gentle staff) ever brandishes a sword.' [2] As soon, however, as he had succeeded by these means in restoring rather more internal tranquillity and obedience, he set his wits to devise some way of enlarging and enriching, at the cost of his neighbours, the kingdom which had been so terribly weakened by the tribute to Assyria and the losses inflicted by the Arameans and the Philistines. Accordingly, he cast his eyes on Judah, which at that time enjoyed under king Jotham a degree of power and prosperity sufficient to draw upon it the covetous glances of many a prince greedy of territory. There are many respects in which the close of the career of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes takes us back to its origin; and so, for instance, we now see the hostility between the two sister states which had been at rest for a considerable time to the no small advantage of both, waking up again, as though the northern kingdom were destined to receive one of its last blows from the same wilful

[1] Vol. iii. p. 293.

[2] Zech. xi. 16 sq., xiii. 7; cf. x. 3.

hostility at the instigation of which it had formally come into existence. A pretext for hostile movements, however, might be furnished by the territories beyond Jordan which [1] had put themselves under the protection of Judah, and to the possession of which Pekah could lay plausible claim once more after the overthrow of the previous dynasty. He felt himself, however, so incapable of supporting his pretensions by his own power, that he was treacherous enough to his country to enter upon a defensive and offensive alliance against Judah with the hereditary foe of the Ten Tribes, viz. the Arameans, whose kingdom had just now regained to some extent its former power and position at Israel's expense under a king named Rezin. The two kings Rezin and Pekah occupied themselves very busily with the prosecution of the war which was the purpose of their alliance; and the most magnificent projects for the future were already sketched out in Samaria.[2]

The war of these allied monarchs was protracted through a considerable period; it was probably carried on for several years while Jotham was on the throne in Jerusalem,[3] and it continued under his successor Ahaz. These very facts lead to the conclusion that it was maintained with varying results for a long time. During Jotham's life, the hosts of Arameans and Ephraimites may often have broken into the territory of Judah, especially the newly-acquired districts on the other side of the Jordan, but in his time they certainly made no permanent conquests there; for Jotham was a soldier of equal valour and discretion,[4] and the great strength which the kingdom had assumed under Uzziah was still kept up under him, as far as was at all possible in such times. The Assyrians, however, who may have considered it advantageous to spare the more distant Judah at present, did not willingly mix themselves up in the quarrel. But as soon as Ahaz, whose great weakness and incapacity could not long be a secret to the allies, became king at Jerusalem, the aspect of the war was materially changed. Indeed, as early as in the first or second year after his accession, Rezin and Pekah determined to attack and conquer Jerusalem itself, and thus at a single blow to put an end to the war and to the rule of the house of David, setting up instead a certain Syrian, Ben-Tabeel (probably the commander of the Aramean troops), as their vassal king. At the very

[1] P. 144 sq.

[2] Is. ix. 7–9, 20 [8–10, 21], xvii. 3 sq., Zech. xi. 14.

[3] According to 2 Kings xv. 37.

[4] According to 2 Chron. xxvii. 3–7, where the statements which are not found in the books of Kings are evidently derived from ancient and reliable sources.

rumour of a great Aramean army having crossed the Jordan and encamped in the territory of Ephraim with a view to combining with Pekah's forces, Ahaz and most of the inhabitants of Jerusalem were seized with such immoderate alarm that they might perhaps have called in the assistance of the Assyrian king against their two enemies even then, as they actually did afterwards. But some unforeseen circumstance prevented the allies from even beginning the actual siege of Jerusalem; possibly they found Jerusalem, in consequence of the inspiriting exhortations of Isaiah, better prepared and with more courage for resistance than they had anticipated.[1] Thus cheated of their hopes in this direction, they seem to have directed their whole strength, as a preliminary measure, to the conquest of the ample territories beyond the Jordan, extending to the bay of Elath, which had been retained ever since their acquisition under Uzziah; and in this quarter their undertaking was completely successful. King Rezin, who appears throughout as far more powerful than Pekah, conquered the whole of these possessions of Judah as far as Elath on the Red Sea, banished from this important commercial city all the Jews, even those who had doubtless been settled there for a long time for purposes of commerce, and restored it again to the Idumeans, who from that time established themselves there still more firmly than before.[2] The Idumeans themselves, when freed from the dominion of Judah, refortified in the strongest manner their rocky capital (Sela, *Petra*), and were once more in a position to indulge to the fullest extent their ancient propensity of falling upon the cities of Judah in marauding expeditions. They continued, however, to be under the protection of the Arameans, and were obliged to tolerate Aramean occupation and ascendancy especially in the rich commercial town of Elath, which was now regarded as a purely Aramean city; and this speedily gave rise to bloody quarrels between them and their own friends and protectors, so that many of the most distinguished Idumeans were banished from the country. These events afforded occasion to Obadiah, a contemporary prophet of Jerusalem, to direct the word of God against the pride of the Idumeans which had

[1] All this is derived from Is. vii. sq., xvii. 1–11. I conclude that this threatening of Jerusalem under Ahaz preceded the conquest of his provinces beyond Jordan and the revolt of the Philistines, not so much because it is mentioned first in 2 Kings xvi. 5 (for this passage is simply borrowed from Is. vii. 1, word for word), as because Isaiah (c. vii.) does not make even a distant allusion to other threatening foes, but, on the other hand, the fear of Ahaz is represented as completely groundless.

[2] 2 Kings xvi. 6, where אֲדוֹמִים is clearly to be read for אֲרוֹמִים; whereas the previous אֲרָם is correct, according to Obadiah ver. 7.

suddenly swollen to such a height.[1] Meanwhile the Philistines also in the west, who had been subjugated by Uzziah, had an opportunity of reasserting their liberty without being interfered with, and of making the most alarming progress.[2] Under these circumstances Judah lay completely exposed; and it was probably at this time that Pekah's savage troops seized their opportunity and laid Judah waste after the fashion recorded by the Chronicles. According to this authority they slew one hundred and twenty thousand able-bodied men in one day, and carried away to Samaria two hundred thousand prisoners, including women and children; but here four noble individuals, at the representation of the prophet Oded, effected the release of all the captives, and after supplying them with ample provision, had them escorted back to Jericho as a frontier town.[3] In the form in which we now have it, this story no doubt exhibits strong marks of the colouring of the Chronicler, but yet so many of its details bear the genuine stamp of history that we cannot be wrong in supposing it to be ultimately derived from the State-annals.

Hard pressed in this way on every side, the weak Ahaz sent an urgent entreaty for help to the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser,[4] who eagerly seized the opportunity of chastising the two allied kingdoms, the recent elevation of which was too palpably opposed to the more extensive projects of the Assyrian power. Whether he entered into any preliminary negotiations with the conquerors or not, we have no means of knowing; suffice it to say that he destroyed the Aramean kingdom of Damascus, and slew its king Rezin,[5] and deprived the kingdom of the Ten Tribes of the whole of its territory on the north, as well as on the other side of the Jordan;[6] indeed, the Damascenes were immediately banished to the northern Kir,[7] while the Israelites of the ceded territories were exiled to other provinces of Assyria at a still greater distance.[8] For the rest, it seems that

[1] I have thus explained on historical grounds, somewhat more exactly than in the *Propheten des A. B.* i. p. 399 sqq. [i. p. 489, 2nd ed.; ii. p. 277. Trans.], the portion which has been preserved of Obadiah's oracle against Edom; Obadiah may very likely have been the name of the prophet then living, and may have merely been retained in ver. 1 by the later editor.

[2] 2 Chron. xxviii. 17 sq., Is. xiv. 29.

[3] 2 Chron. xxviii. 5–15; it does not follow from the expression in ver. 7 that the king's son there mentioned must actually have been a son of Ahaz.

[4] This is the form of the name always found in the books of Kings; the Chronicles, on the other hand, always give *Pilneser*; which orthography is the more correct could be best decided by the inscriptions.

[5] 2 Kings xvi. 9.

[6] 2 Kings xv. 29. Gilead here signifies the whole country east of the Jordan, according to 1 Chron. v. 6, 26.

[7] P. 150.

[8] According to 1 Chron. v. 26, Pul had already commenced the deportation; but this is probably nothing but a free representation, as also is the plural in 2 Chron. xxviii. 16, and in a similar case in ver. 3 comp. with 2 Kings xvi. 3; cf. 2 Chron. xxxii. 21 with 2 Kings xx. 12 sq.

although Damascus was situated nearer to Assyria, yet the kingdom of the Ten Tribes was the first to be attacked by the Assyrians, since its inroads upon Judah had to be restrained before anything else was done; next came the turn of Hamath,[1] and lastly of Damascus, which was then punished by absolute destruction.[2]

The great prophets who were labouring about this time in Judah, speak with deep sorrow of the deportation of these Israelites, and hope for a restoration and even glorification of the northern and eastern districts which then lay waste, but certainly not under king Pekah, nor indeed under the existing conditions at all.[3] Pekah himself, after the loss of almost half his kingdom, which he had wantonly brought upon himself, continued to rule after the same fashion as before, except that, as a vassal of Assyria, he was now compelled to leave Judah at rest. At last, when he had reigned twenty-nine years, and Damascus, which had supported him, had fallen, the patience of his subjects seems to have been exhausted; Hoshea, the son of Elah, conspired against him with success, but in this, as in all similar cases in this kingdom, the victory was only secured by the murder of the king.

3. It looks like the bitter irony of fate that this Hoshea, who was to be the last king, was a better one than any of his predecessors.[4] The words of the true prophets who had uttered so many and such important truths concerning this kingdom during the last fifty years, may perhaps have exercised a more powerful influence over him, and instilled into him better principles; but they had always predicted its fall as certain, and now the irresistible force of history was to prove that no single man, whatever might be his position and his superiority to his predecessors, could be strong enough to delay the ruin of the whole structure if the right moment for its reformation had passed.

The utmost efforts both of the new king and of all who had raised him to the throne, were clearly directed towards freeing their country from the Assyrian supremacy. At last they saw

[1] P. 151.

[2] The proof of this is found in the prophetic work in Zechariah, ix.–xi., xiii. 7–9; for this book clearly presupposes in x. 2, 7–10, the deportation under Tiglath-Pileser, but mentions Damascus and Hamath as countries which are still to be conquered and chastised, ix. 1 sq., and must, therefore, have been written just in the interval when a fresh Assyrian army might be expected from the north. For this reason also Samaria does not appear in the list of cities upon which this storm was to fall, ix. 1–8. Nor can it be proved that Damascus must necessarily have been previously conquered and destroyed; since Sennacherib, for example, at a later date, marched against Egypt without having previously destroyed Jerusalem.

[3] Zech. x. 7–12, Is. viii. 23 [ix. 1]; cf. Mic. vii. 14.

[4] 2 Kings xvii. 2.

clearly into what a mistake they had fallen ever since the time of Menahem, and feared to meet the same fate under the heavy hand of the Assyrians, which had already overtaken Damascus and so many other kingdoms west of the Euphrates. The recent death of Tiglath-Pileser, and the fact that no obligations had yet been entered into with the new Assyrian king Shalmaneser,[1] were favourable to their exertions; for as yet all engagements contracted between different states might easily be treated as cancelled by the death of one of the contracting princes. In other respects, too, external circumstances seemed favourable. It was the time during which the Assyrians were involved in a protracted war with the Phœnicians, which offered the first considerable check to the stream of their conquest. In the preceding years the Chittites, that is the Phœnician colonists of Cyprus and other islands, had thrown off the supremacy of the mother country, and disturbed the whole extent of the Syrian sea-board,[2] with the material assistance of the Grecian and other restless inhabitants of the sea-coasts:[3] but they were at length reconquered by the Tyrian king Elulæus. Whilst the Tyrians were enjoying the fame of this triumph, they were attacked by Shalmaneser, on what pretext we do not exactly know. At first all the Phœnician cities, with Tyre at their head, resisted the Assyrians; and it is probable that Samaria, also, endeavoured at this time to maintain its ground against them in concert with the Phœnicians. But Sidon, Acre, Old Tyre, and other Phœnician cities, wearied by the burden of the war, made their peace with Shalmaneser,[4] and Insular Tyre

[1] This monarch is repeatedly designated in the Greek text of Tobit i. by the corrupted name of *Enemessar* (cf. *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1851, p. 987); moreover, the deportation under Shalmaneser is there confused with that under Tiglath-Pileser.

[2] All this is known from the passage of the Tyrian History of Menander, quoted by Jos. *Ant.* ix. 14, 2, comp. with Num. xxiv. 24. The fifth narrator of the primitive history, accordingly, wrote some ten years before the death of Ahaz (cf. i. p. 110), a period with which all the other indications tally; Edom, for instance, had then revolted again from Judah. It is only to be lamented that Josephus gives no more ample quotations from the work of Menander, and does not define the chronology more exactly. It is not likely that the name of *Elulæus* arises from a confusion with the almost contemporary ruler of Babylon mentioned in the Canon of Ptolemy. The coincidence of the names may be accidental, or the reading *Elysæus* may be more correct.

[3] As may be gathered from the mention of the Ionians in Zech. ix. 13, comp. with Num. xxiv. 24.

[4] It was probably about this time that the Assyrians also destroyed the small kingdoms of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ayva, [A.V. Ivah] on the Phœnician borders, for they are clearly mentioned in 2 Kings xviii. 34, xix. 13, as the last cities overthrown; and although the names are rather obscure, and Hena is never mentioned again, yet the name of Sepharvaim appears to be identical with the abbreviated form of Sepharam (cf. note on Obad. ver. 20), and the *Not. Dign. Orient.* c. 31 (ed. Böcking, p. 84 sq.) still specifies an Avatha in Phœnicia; moreover, Sepharvaim and Avva appear again in alliance with the neighbouring Hamath in Esarhaddon's time, 2 Kings xvii. 30 sq., compared with ver. 24 [A.V. Ava]. For the rest we must follow the passages last cited in reading עַוָּה for עַנָּה in 2 Kings xviii. 34,

seemed obliged to follow this example; and under these circumstances the new king of Samaria, also, had no other course but to submit to an advancing Assyrian army and pay tribute.[1] But hardly had the Assyrian forces retired to a little distance when Insular Tyre raised its head again in freedom; and although the Assyrians received sixty ships and eight hundred oarsmen from the other Phœnicians, for an attack upon it, yet the Tyrians with twelve ships won a brilliant victory over them; so that Shalmaneser contented himself for five years with preventing the Insular Tyrians from fetching water from the mainland, and was still unable to reduce them.

This glorious resistance of the Insular Tyrians against the Assyrians would be observed in the neighbouring Samaria with the most lively satisfaction: it was now seen to be possible for the Assyrians to be beaten; and when a few years had passed, it was thought that a favourable opportunity had arrived for concluding an offensive and defensive alliance against the Assyrians with the Egyptian king Seveh;[2] for the twenty-fifth, or Ethiopic dynasty, which was then ruling in Egypt, appeared to be the only power which could successfully maintain a contest against them by land.[3] Thus Egypt, the radical foe of the original foundation of the religion and polity of the people of Israel,—Egypt, the same dark influence which had formerly lent its aid in the establishment of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes under Jeroboam I., was now at last to contribute in no small degree to its complete destruction; and so, in this, as in other respects, it reverted in its close to the circumstances of its commencement. Ever since the age which immediately succeeded the fall of the house of Jehu,[4] the expectations and hopes of the kingdom, as its last breath drew nigh, had fluctuated between Egypt and Assyria; and during the spasmodic convulsions of the last decades and the forcible removal of a

xix. 13. We cannot think of the Sepphara of southern Babylonia in this connexion, because it certainly had no king of its own, and because any disturbances in those eastern regions at this time are highly improbable. What attempts, however, are made at the present day to find all three towns there, may be seen in G. Rawlinson's *Evidences*, p. 425.

[1] 2 Kings xvii. 3. The short account here given certainly makes no mention of a contemporary Phœnician war, but nothing in it is inconsistent with the order of events supposed in the text.

[2] This is how the name must be pronounced (2 Kings xvii. 4) which the Masora reads *Sô*; for, according to the Hebrew laws of sound, the former sound might of course easily pass into the latter (*Lehrb.* § 55*c*). The name *Sabakon* in Herodotus is also the same; we may, however, refer this to the weak Sabakon II. or Sevichos II. The exact time of the accession of an Egyptian king of this dynasty is somewhat difficult to determine, on account of the Dodecarchy which intervened between it and the succeeding one; we may suppose, however, with Wilkinson, that this Seveh ascended the throne in 728, his successor Tirhakah in 714 B.C.

[3] It is clear from such expressions as Is. xxiii. 5, xx. 6, that the Phœnicians also hoped much from Egypt at that time.

[4] P. 156 sq.

number of distinguished Israelites, many of the people, in some instances to escape the internal commotions, in others to escape the violence of the Assyrians, must again and again have fled to Egypt, and there met with a tolerably good reception.[1] Indeed, since the Egyptians were a people of ancient and progressive civilisation, and were, moreover, then making fresh efforts for freedom, many might give the preference to them with great show of reason, if once the question arose whether protection—and in the case of imminent danger of utter destruction, shelter—were to be sought from them or from the Assyrians. But as soon as the Assyrian king heard of the negotiations which were being carried on with Egypt, he immediately turned upon Hoshea, whom he took by surprise, summoned him before his presence to hear his explanations, but, as soon as he came, took him prisoner, put him in chains, and imprisoned him, probably on the frontier of the country.[2] This treatment of a good king, who had by that time been several years on the throne, instead of intimidating the country, as was expected, produced a feeling of great bitterness. The whole population—all that remained, that is, in the kingdom already so much reduced—armed itself for a desperate resistance, and such a fearful blast of stormy passion swept through the land that those who looked from a distance upon this struggle, which must of necessity be in the end unsuccessful, could see nothing in it but the mad presumption of a drunken riot.[3] Yet the victory seemed doubtful for a time, and it is remarkable how strong a resemblance the fall of Samaria bears to the first and second destructions of Jerusalem, in the heroic resistance of its inhabitants. The Assyrian army had first to overrun the whole country, and conquer all the fortresses; Samaria itself only fell after a siege of almost three years. Shalmaneser, however, revenged himself by putting an end to the kingdom altogether, and banishing the larger number and the most able and valiant of the inhabitants to distant Assyrian cities.[4]

[1] This follows from such prophetic utterances as Zech. x. 9 sq., Is. xi. 11; Hosea, too, had already referred distinctly to such possibilities, ix. 6.

[2] The few words in 2 Kings xvii. 4, cf. xviii. 9–11, cannot be understood in any other way, for the evidence of the rest of the history opposes the idea that the events described in ver. 5 really happened before the incarceration of the king, and that this verse merely brings up the narrative to the point already reached. If Hoshea had defended himself to the utmost, Shalmaneser would not have seized and imprisoned him (which is the meaning of עצר), but would have put him to death at once, which was the fate of the king of Damascus.

[3] Cf. Is. xxviii. 1–4. Yet Isaiah is here no doubt alluding to the position of Samaria at the time when, before the incarceration of the king, there was a desire to conclude the ill-considered league with Egypt.

[4] Just as the Romans treated many nations, even under Augustus, Liv. xl. 37 sq., Dio Cassius, *Hist.* liv. 11, Florus, *Hist.* iv. 12.—The way in which the Assyrians used to attempt to delude the people in such cases may be seen from Is. xxxvi. 16 sq.

On the occasion of this last deportation, the book of Kings[1] specifies Halah, Habor, the river Gozan, and the cities of Media, as the localities to which the exiles were consigned. The two first of these names indicate places north of Nineveh, and south of the lake of Van;[2] the river Gozan still known by the same name Ozen, rises south of the lake of Ourmia, and forms approximately the northern boundary of Media, which is mentioned immediately after it.[3] The names of the cities of Media are not stated. One of them was the Rages (afterwards shortened to Rai) known from the book of Tobit, the ruins of which are to be seen not far from the present royal Persian city of Teheran; one of the cities north of Nineveh was Elkosh, the city, according to all trustworthy traces, in which the prophet Nahum lived and wrote.[4] But we can easily understand that the localities mentioned in the book of Kings are only those to which the stream of compulsory emigration was directed in the greatest strength; numbers may have been banished to entirely different districts of the Assyrian empire, which was then so extensive, for policy would urge the greatest possible separation of the exiles. Thus it seems highly probable that a residence was at that time assigned to many of the exiles in Hamath.[5] The earlier exiles of Tiglath-Pileser's time were

[1] 2 Kings xvii. 6, xviii. 11. The Chronicler, indeed, 1 Chron. v. 26, gives Halah and Habor and Hara and the river Gozan as the places (not exactly defined in 2 Kings xv. 29) to which the exiles of the first captivity were consigned; but this statement is, no doubt, drawn from no other source than 2 Kings xvii. 6; for Ha·a, i.e. mountain-chain, is only the Aramean name for Media, as we may conclude from the corresponding Arabic name *el-Jibâl*.

[2] We cannot well suppose the reference to be to the greater and better-known river Chaboras which flows into the Euphrates at Circesium, since it is preceded by Halah, and this last is certainly identical with the ancient Calah, Gen. x. 11, and the district Calachênê of Ptolem. *Geogr.* vi. 1, Strabo, *Geogr.* xi. 4. 8, 14. 12, xvi. 1. 1; although the Jews of the Middle Ages (cf. Fürst's *Qaräer*, i. p. 68 sq., 103 sq.) and Assemâni *Bibl. Or.* iii. 2, p. 731, make it identical with the city of Holvân lying further south (cf., also, Maqrîzî in Sacy's *Chrest. Ar.* ed. 2, i. p. 110 and Masson in the *Lond. As. Journ.* 1850, p. 104). We must, therefore, suppose the Habor to be the smaller river of that name, which flows from the east, and falls into the Tigris north of Nineveh. The course of this river is best seen in the map in Grant's *Nestorians*; cf., also, Ainsworth's *Trav.* ii. p. 261 sq., 339 sq., Badger's *Nestorians*, i. p. 210. The whole district may at that time have been named after this river.

[3] If this river, which is the boundary of Media, is to be understood here, we can also see why the *and* is omitted before it in this connexion; the two first names, like the two last, are then closely connected together. The river Gozan, therefore, flowed past the site, in ancient times, of a city named Γαυζανία, Ptolem. *Geogr.* vi. 2; and the name is probably not of Turkish origin (see Rawlinson in the *Journ. Geogr. Soc.* x. p. 54 sqq.; cf. Azon, Hazem, p. 74). The city of this name, however, referred to in 2 Kings xix. 12, must be looked for, on account of the other cities mentioned in conjunction with it, in Mesopotamia (p. 150).—The arbitrariness of the attempts of the later Jews to rediscover all these places in the more distant east, may be seen, for example, from the passage adduced above from Maqrîzî and from Tanchûm on 2 Kings xvii. 6.

[4] That Nahum lived here is shown in the *Propheten des A. B.* i. p. 349 sq. [ii. p. 2 sq. 2nd ed.; vol. iii. Trans.]

[5] When Hamath is mentioned in Is. xi. 11 sq. among the districts in which the Israelites were at that time scattered, it is

probably, for the most part, scattered over Babylon and Elam, which lay still further to the east.[1] When it is further borne in mind that numbers preferred voluntary flight into the countries of Egypt, Asia Minor, and Europe,[2] and that others, as prisoners of war, were sold in great numbers into every country, it becomes clear how widely the descendants of Israel must even then have been dispersed.

III. The Kingdom of Judah, its Deliverance and Increased Vigour: Isaiah and Hezekiah.

While every movement of which the kingdom of the Ten Tribes was either the source or the object during the last half-century of its existence only contributed the more inevitably to hasten its ruin, Judah, which was not threatened by the Assyrian power even at a distance, succeeded in maintaining for a considerable period that relatively far greater prosperity which has been already described.[3] Uzziah, who scarcely lived till the beginning of the reign of Pekah in the sister kingdom, was succeeded by his brave son Jotham,[4] who entirely resembled him in disposition, and carried on the government on precisely the same principles. After Uzziah's death, it is true, the Ammonite prince attempted to make himself independent of Judah; but he was conquered by Jotham, and compelled to pay a yearly tribute of one hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and the same quantity of barley.[5] Commerce continued to prosper as in the preceding reign. The revenues which poured from all sides into the treasury of Jotham as into Uzziah's, he applied to a great extent to useful public works: he built up the upper, i.e. the northern, gate of the temple, as well as the city-wall on the south-east; on the barren plateaus of the mountains in the south of Judah he founded new cities, the land around which was brought under cultivation; and in the forests (probably on the other side of the Jordan especially) he erected

of course easy to understand that they could only have gone into any of the countries which were then possessed by the Assyrians (of which Hamath was one), on compulsion. Nor can it be urged that Hamath was at all too near for inhabitants of Samaria to be banished thither, because afterwards in the time of Esarhaddon inhabitants of Hamath were transplanted the reverse way to Samaria, 2 Kings xvii. 24–30.

[1] This follows in the same manner from Is. xi. 11.

[2] 'The islands of the sea,' Is. xi. 11; comp. with Jonah i. 3, Mic. vii. 12.

[3] P. 143 sqq.

[4] The spelling Ἰωαθάμ, in the LXX, is an incorrect imitation of Ἰωαχάζ and other similar names; in other words in Hellenistic Greek, we find this change of vowels *ô* or *â* into *oa*, as Μοασαδά, Strabo xvi. 2, 44; Ἰωανοῦ, or better Ἰωανᾶ, for Ἰωνᾶ, John xxi. 15, in old MSS.; Ἰωάεσδρος, Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 21. 7, according to the more correct reading, for יוֹעֵזֶר.

[5] 2 Chron. xxvii. 5 sq.

castles and towers for the observation of the enemy.[1] But the constant increase of the power and security of the realm, and the profusion of an age rendered prosperous by the development of arts and distant commerce, were accompanied by an equally vigorous growth of other things: the craving for enjoyment and luxury among the people, and especially among the women of the capital; the foolish predilection for foreign manners and foreign superstitions of every kind; and a wantonness of life from which many even of the judges of the people were not altogether free, and under which the more defenceless inhabitants had to suffer increasing severity; all of which Isaiah, the great prophet of the age, who lived in Jerusalem, recognised and depicted in the sharpest outlines.[2] In the last years of his reign, Jotham had also to sustain the attacks[3] of the allied kings of Damascus and Samaria; while the Assyrian power in the north became more and more threatening to the independence and free development of all petty states. But the Assyrians themselves seemed to have entertained a certain dread of the kingdom which, under Uzziah's long reign, had become so prosperous and strong, and to have kept out of the circle of its movements and wars;[4] while they had for a long time interfered in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. Meanwhile, after a reign of sixteen years, Jotham died in the forty-second year of his age.

1. His death proved the commencement of a severe and tedious trial for the kingdom, which for seventy years had been so prosperous, and yet had suffered from the almost undisturbed progress of numerous internal evils. The cure of these evils, which became a more and more pressing necessity, and the increasing difficulty of the foreign relations of the kingdom, demanded a ruler of great energy and wisdom; but in Ahaz, the son of the preceding king, who was only five-and-twenty,[5] the throne was occupied by a man whose weakness of character and foolish humours would have been quite sufficient, in the sixteen years of his reign, to put the whole kingdom out of

[1] 2 Kings xv. 35, and much more fully, 2 Chron. xxvii. 3 sq.

[2] In a work published at the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, of which there have been still preserved Is. ii.–v., ix. 7-x. 4; cc. vi.–ix. 6, xvii. 1–11, were written later: cf. the *Propheten des A. B.* i. 184 sq.; [i. 286, 2nd ed.; ii. 18. Trans.] and also the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vii. p. 30 sqq.

[3] P. 158.

[4] See how Isaiah, v. 26–30, points to them as still at a distance.

[5] In 2 Kings xvi. 2, it is true, the number twenty is found, but in 2 Chron. xxviii. 1, the number twenty-five is found at least in the LXX Cod. Vat., the Peshito, and one Hebrew MS.; and, in fact, the former number is scarcely conceivable, since Ahaz must then, according to 2 Kings xviii. 2 comp. with xvi. 2, have begotten his son Hezekiah in his eleventh year; which, though perhaps not in itself quite impossible, yet certainly never occurred in the case of any king's son.

joint, had there not been at the same time better forces at work to preserve it in spite of his misguided designs. The circumstances of the state prevented any power but the prophetic from being strong enough to counterbalance the power of the crown; fortunately, however, there lived at that very time, in the person of Isaiah, the greatest prophet who ever appeared in ancient Jerusalem. In him the spiritualised prophetism, peculiar to this age, and especially to the kingdom of Judah, was exalted to its most pure and perfect form, so far as regards the power of language possessing equal force and beauty, the strength of its influence, and its outward success. His ministry is not free from the ancient vehemence and the unyielding claims originally inherent in all prophetic activity; but with it the spirit is struggling by all means to make clear the truth in its purity and freedom. His utterance alights with equal severity on the perverseness of all conditions of men, the king and the chief officers of state as well as the people, false prophets and accommodating priests; but he has no desire to destroy the human monarchy, or the house of David, even where it grievously errs; only his inspired glance is directed to the certain approach of the consummation of everything human in the glorified kingdom of God and in the true king; this already lives hidden in his own heart: and when from its bright picture he is obliged to discern and to proclaim that no existing kingdom, not even Assyria any more than Judah, can exist before it, he yet acts on every present occasion as though at any rate the eternal law and the impulse of this coming consummation must even then prevail to change everything for good. It was in this spirit that the greatest of the great prophets of the Old Testament had laboured ever since the last year of king Uzziah; and now, impelled by the necessities of his cause, he found himself opposed in Ahaz to a prince whose whole nature was fundamentally different.

There is no question that Ahaz, immediately on his accession, allowed the heathen party to take the helm of affairs, because his own natural disposition drew him in that direction, and perhaps because, in the troubled times which were expected, the most efficient support was looked for from that quarter. To it belonged at that time most of the members of the house of David and of the court;[1] towards it was turned the general inclination of the people who, for the last seventy years, had been only too luxurious and pleasure-loving; and it was further

[1] Cf. the address in Is. vii. 13; cf., also, Mic. vi. 16.

strengthened by foreign heathens, who were summoned into the country to take charge of high offices.[1]

The whole age favoured the intrusion of new knowledge, arts, and religions from the East; for which even Assyrian arms had long contributed to pave the way. A new era was, in this respect, rapidly coming on, when it would be said that it was only in earlier times that foreigners had not found an entrance into the country and brought with them totally new manners and opinions.[2] The fifth narrator of the primitive history glances in his work at the older history of the famous eastern countries of his day, Assyria and Babylonia, in a manner wholly unknown to earlier works of the same kind;[3] although the description of Paradise (notwithstanding that it contains elements which, while mingled with primitive traditions of Canaan and remoulded by the genuine spirit of Mosaism, cannot conceal their origin from the more distant east), became possible[4] in the later years of Solomon. The sundial on the palace at Jerusalem, which Ahaz erected, appears to have come from Babylon.[5] It was certainly from Nineveh that he derived the idea of keeping the sacred horses of the sun, with splendid sun-chariots, which he placed in the outer court of the temple, not far from its western entrance, and which seem, as in Persia, to have served as a sort of royal oracle.[6] From Babylon, the ancient home of astronomy and astrology, came without doubt the worship of 'the whole host of heaven,' which was elaborately arranged on the flat roofs, and for which Ahaz erected little altars on the roof of the temple in a structure known as 'the upper-house of Ahaz;'[7] and the signs of the zodiac are now for the first time mentioned.—Moreover, every other sort of heathen superstition, even necromancy and the horrible sacrifices of Moloch, were now freely tolerated; the king himself

[1] For instance, Shebna, the chief minister, whose encroachments were denounced by Isaiah, xxii. 15–25. In the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign he was at least (Is. xxxvi. 3 sqq.) degraded to the post of second minister, and appears from Is. xxxvii. 2 to have seriously amended his ways. Cf. ii. 6, viii. 19.

[2] As the poet of the book of Job makes Eliphaz say, Job xv. 19; really the same sort of thing repeatedly occurred even in much earlier times.

[3] Gen. x. 8–12, xi. 1–9; cf. ix. 20–27, Num. xxiv. 22–24, and also probably Gen. ii. 10–14.

[4] Vol. iii. p. 276 sq.

[5] Is. xxxviii. 8, comp. with Herodot. ii. 109.

[6] 2 Kings xxiii. 11, where מְבוֹא is to be read; cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 13, and on the Persian chariots of the sun, Abdias' *Hist. Apost.* vi. 21, ix. 14. The kings of Judah there said to have set up such chariots, but not named, were certainly Ahaz, Manasseh, and Amon. Cf. Raoul-Rochette in the Paris *Mémoires de l'Acad.* xvii. 2, pp. 139 sqq.

[7] The roof mentioned 2 Kings xxiii. 12 can only be, by the context, that of the temple. On the importance of the mention of the Zodiac, see the *Zeitschr. für das Morgenl.* iii. pp. 369 sqq., 418; to this must now be added the essays of Max Müller and Alb. Weber upon the Zodiac.

displayed a preference for such miserable consultations of the dead,[1] and sacrificed one of his own sons to Moloch.[2] Capricious innovations without number, and the gratification of the worst passions, mark the rule of this as of every other arbitrary prince; and soon after the beginning of this reign it could be said that children and women were become the rulers of the people.[3]

It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that many in the nation began to despair altogether of the rule of the house of David. When Ahaz, in his terror at the news of the advance of the allied kings of Damascus and Samaria against Jerusalem, lost all composure, and his want of courage threw the whole people into confusion, many residents in the capital felt an ill-concealed joy at the progress of the enemy, and would have readily engaged in plans for the complete overthrow of the Davidic dynasty. All the more energetic were Isaiah's labours at this critical time. It was clear to his mind that there was little to be dreaded from the alliance of these two kingdoms, which had long been inwardly decayed, but everything from the Assyrian power. He sought accordingly in every way to excite in the king that higher courage and faith in which he was deficient, as well as to prevent him from unnecessarily calling in the aid of the Assyrians. The wavering people he admonished in stern words of their duty towards the house of David, which had been for so long a period the firmest protection and the best hope of Judah. With the utmost confidence he proclaimed the divine decree of the speedy fall of Samaria and Damascus by the Assyrians, but repeated his forebodings and threats that Judah would likewise have to be chastised by the Assyrians with a severity proportioned to the need of it which had been displayed by the grievous unbelief of Ahaz and his people.[4]

The danger of an attack by the two kings on Jerusalem did in reality pass by for the time; but in subsequent years the war was carried on[5] by Ahaz in other directions with great want of success; he lost all the conquests of his two predecessors, and suffered so severely from the inroads of the Idumeans and Philistines, that he could think of no remedy for his misfortunes except calling in the aid of the Assyrians. This led to the fulfilment not only of Isaiah's foreboding of the approach-

[1] This follows from Is. viii. 19 sq.

[2] 2 Kings xvi. 3; on the other hand, the description in ver. 4 is due solely to the peculiar view and method of expression of the last narrator. On the plural in 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, cf. above, p. 160 *note* 8.

[3] Is. iii. 12. The expression has a general significance, and should not be referred specially to king Ahaz alone.

[4] Is. vii. 1–ix. 6, with which c. vi. is connected.

[5] P. 159 sq.

ing fall of Damascus and the terrible humiliation of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, but also of his warning threats of a chastisement of Judah by the Assyrians. For the moment, it is true, Ahaz was relieved from the most pressing danger, and after Samaria and Damascus had been compelled to declare peace with him, might proceed with greater success to rid himself of the pettier foes who had lately risen against him.[1] But the price paid for the Assyrian aid was much more than the treasures of the temple and the palace;[2] it was the independence and honour of the realm itself.

But the idea of the honour of his kingdom never presented itself to this capricious king. After the conquest of Damascus by Tiglath-Pileser, he repaired thither humbly to pay homage to the Assyrian monarch as his deliverer. But in the midst of this dishonourable submission to those who were more powerful than himself, he did not forget to satisfy his petty lust of power where his own subjects were concerned. He happened to see in the principal temple at Damascus an altar, the fashion of which pleased him better than that of the brazen altar in the forecourt of the temple at Jerusalem. It is quite likely that the fashion of this altar, which was doubtless tolerably new, designed in a city where the arts, as many traces show, were then in a highly flourishing condition, may have been superior in many respects to that of the old Mosaic altar; but the latter was venerable by its antiquity, and innovations of the kind are not readily received by any nation, especially at the hands of such a king as Ahaz. However, he had the pattern of it sent at once to Jerusalem, with orders to the high priest Urijah to construct a similar one and put it in the place of the old altar. Urijah, who is otherwise known to us as a person deserving of respect, was obliged to yield to this arbitrary command;[3] the new altar, upon which henceforth all sacrifices were to be made, was consecrated by Ahaz, who offered sacrifice with his own hand;[4] while the old altar was removed to the north side of the court, and remained there unused. In the

[1] For instance, of the Philistines, who are alluded to Is. xiv. 29; cf. the information 2 Chron. xxviii. 18 from the State-annals, according to which they had taken possession of several frontier towns, which Ahaz only gradually reconquered.

[2] 2 Kings xvi. 7 sq.

[3] 2 Kings xvi. 10–15 (in ver. 14 for the second המזבח we should probably read שער החצר); cf. Is. viii. 2. These innovations are plainly alluded to Is. xvii. 8; cf. Hos. viii. 11, x. 1.—The Chronicler (2 Chron. xxviii. 20–23) supposes 1) that the Assyrian king had come to Judah to oppress Ahaz: this is contrary to the older and more exact reminiscence; 2) that Ahaz had further been so foolish in this distress as to sacrifice to the gods of Damascus; but, according to the older narrative, it was only a strange altar with the appearance of which Ahaz had, foolishly enough, been pleased; comp. p. 143 *note* 1. Similarly, the Chronicler represents (ver. 24 sq.) in his own way what is otherwise related in 2 Kings xvi. 17 sq.; hence the supposition that Ahaz finally shut up the temple altogether is not strictly historical.

[4] P. 145 sq.

course of the following years, however, he felt the burthen of the Assyrian supremacy so oppressive, that he even had the bronze taken off the larger pieces of the temple furniture, and stripped the costly royal staircase from the palace to the temple as well as the royal Sabbath pulpit of all their ornaments, simply in order to preserve the favour of the dreaded Assyrian monarch by constantly sending him fresh and valuable presents.[1] All the movable treasures of the temple he had already made away with to the Assyrians before.

Under such oppressive conditions it was a great thing that the faith in a better future, and the firm determination to hold aloof from all the perversities of the age, remained erect even in a small circle of true confessors of the eternal religion. Such a circle gathered round Isaiah. With his family and his few faithful disciples he maintained himself all the more resolutely disengaged from the errors which disfigured the times; and lived the more vigorously in the eternal truths and hopes.[2] By the length and consistency of his pious labours, he attracted to himself so much of men's higher confidence, that younger prophets like Micah (and others) rose up quite in his spirit to take part in his work; and even the son and heir of Ahaz, the flower of the young men of the rising generation, learned to share his purpose and his faith.

2. This son and successor of Ahaz was Hezekiah,[3] one of the most glorious princes who ever adorned the throne of David, and whose reign of nine-and-twenty years exhibits an almost unclouded picture of persistent struggles against the most embarrassed and difficult circumstances crowned with elevating victories. He was thoroughly noble, wanting neither in the military spirit nor in personal valour,[4] yet devoted by preference to the arts of peace. Careful economy in the kingdom and the promotion of the cultivation of the land were objects which he, like his great grandfather Uzziah, had very much at heart; and even in unfavourable times his treasury was not empty.[5] The tenderness of his disposition and the genuine thankfulness of his spirit are proved most clearly by a hymn of his own composition, which has been preserved.[6]

[1] 2 Kings xvi. 17 sq.; cf. iii. pp. 251. 244. מִיסָךְ is a covered seat or stand; and הֵסֵב is to change, i.e. here to disfigure, strip of its ornament; and it is easy to see that the last words, 'from fear of (or shorter *because of*) the Assyrian king,' are only a brief expression to indicate what is obvious to everyone.

[2] Cf. the beautiful allusions Is. viii. 11–18.

[3] In Is. i. 1, Hos. i. 1, Mic. i. 1, and in the Chronicles, the longer and more original form of the name is found Jehezekiah; in the LXX Ἐζεκίας.

[4] 2 Kings xx. 20.

[5] 2 Chron. xxxii. 27–29, comp. with 2 Kings xx. 13, and that again with xviii. 15.

[6] Is. xxxviii. 9–20; cf. the *Dichter des A. B.* i. p. 161 sqq. 2nd ed.

Himself a poet, like his great ancestor David, he reverenced the ancient treasures of literature, and set competent persons at his court to make a collection, as we are distinctly informed, of Solomonic proverbs.[1] Faithfully devoted to the religion of Jahveh in the sublime form in which it was at that time conceived by great prophets, he not only expelled all traces of the heathen religions proper, but he was also the first to attempt to destroy those remains of the ancient Israelitish religion with which, in the course of time, all sorts of superstition had become firmly connected, and which were in too harsh opposition to the form which the higher religion had reached several centuries before in Jerusalem.[2] It is distinctly stated, for example, that he removed the so-called brazen god, i.e., the brazen serpent, before which incense and prayer were offered, as though Moses had intended it for an idol.[3] This purification of divine worship he certainly commenced immediately after his accession;[4] but it could not at once be carried generally through to the idolatrous household images among the nation,[5] so that it was not till the following century that king Josiah recommenced and followed out with greater strictness what Hezekiah had begun.[6] And it will be still more readily understood that, with all his excellence, the king could not succeed all at once in freeing the general moral condition of the people from the faults of the age; but he allowed Isaiah and the other great prophets of the time unrestrained speech concerning them, and thus attacked them with the most available weapons. What rare results were now rendered possible by the free interaction of Isaiah the truly kingly prophet with a young king like Hezekiah!

The conduct of such a prince towards the Assyrians could not fail to be different from that of Ahaz. It was just at that time that the Assyrians, during the reign of Shalmaneser, stood at the summit of their proud aspirations, and threatened the freedom of all the various nations of the mainland as far as Egypt, after their swelling spirit of victory had only once been broken on the island of Tyre.[7] With truthful insight the great prophets in Judah foretold, accordingly, the overthrow of all the kingdoms in the south-west of Asia by the Assyrians. Isaiah especially fixed his eyes during those years with the more

[1] Prov. xxv. 1.

[2] 2 Kings xviii. 4.

[3] See ii. pp. 125, 176 sq. It might have been expected that this image would have continued in the desert, where it was set up by Moses, to be visited by pilgrims; but later writers inform us it stood in the temple at Jerusalem, a statement which has made its way from Jewish writings even into Jalâleldîn's *Hist. of Jerus.* (ed. Reynolds, p. 148).

[4] This is also clear from the way in which the Assyrians express themselves at the siege of Jerusalem, Is. x. 10, xxxvi. 7, 2 Kings xviii. 22.

[5] This is clear from expressions like Is. i. 29–31, xxx. 22.

[6] Pp. 236 sqq.

[7] Pp. 162 sq.

severity on the destinies of all the states round about Judah, and proclaimed to everyone of them ruin at the hands of the Assyrians, announcing it to each one in the particular manner merited by its special transgression against the eternal religion.[1] But the heart of every good Judahite was moved with constantly growing joy at the remembrance of the Davidic sanctuary at Jerusalem; and though it seemed as if for the future everything were unstable, and nothing were capable of remaining erect beneath the crushing power of the Assyrian, still to the pious soul of almost every believer it was inconceivable that Zion too, and with it, as it appeared, the foundation of the rock on which stood the true community and religion, could be shaken by heathens and sink into the dust entirely overthrown. Though the Assyrian storm from the north-east should dash to the ground all the kingdoms of all the earth, yet round Mount Zion Jahveh himself would encamp as a wall of protection;—such was the prophecy of an unknown prophet under Ahaz, whose words have been preserved;[2] and though Isaiah undoubtedly considers the Assyrians as a rod of chastisement wielded by the hand of Jahveh, and destined to fall upon Judah, as on every other people, with such severity that only a small remnant of the nation shall remain, yet his heart starts up trembling to resist the thought that the sanctuary at Zion could fall too, and the throne of David be wholly overturned. The simple country prophet Micah, with a still bolder and more logical view of the future, certainly announced in the reign of Hezekiah that Jerusalem also with the temple itself would be completely destroyed;[3] but his daring utterance was as little believed then as it was clearly remembered afterwards. If, therefore, the new king should venture to maintain a greater independence towards the Assyrians, his spirit could rest in firm confidence on something in Israel and Zion which could never perish. A bold venture, certainly, at that time; but worthy of a true king in this community. It was this alone which could confer on the impending collision between the two powers that significance for the higher religion which it afterwards actually possessed.[4] To this must be added that the existing obligations towards the Assyrians were considered to have expired on the death of the late king. In a word, Hezekiah did not, like Ahaz, seek the aid of the Assyrian monarch, and consequently paid him neither allegiance nor tribute.

[1] See the *Propheten des A. B.* i. p. 227 sqq. [i. 277 sqq. 2nd ed. ii. 8 sqq. Trans.].
[2] Zech. ix. 1–8.
[3] Mic. iii. 12; cf. Jer. xxvi. 18 sq.
[4] That the war became a real religious war is clear from Is. x. 10 sq., 2 Kings xviii. 22 sqq., and other evidences.

This involved the task of making preparations for possible contingencies, and not attempting altogether to escape any war that might arise.[1] We still know some particulars of the zealous activity displayed by Hezekiah, who was supported by the whole people, in placing the capital in the best condition of defence. Arms were prepared in large quantities, with which the arsenal near the palace, now put into better order, was furnished. The older and ruined portions of the city wall were restored, and fortified with towers; round this was carried a second wall with trenches, and many of the houses outside the walls were pulled down partly to remove any impediments in the way of defending the city from within, partly to prevent their affording any shelter for the enemy outside. Lastly, an attempt was made to stop all the water-courses outside the city, in order to cut off the supply from the besiegers, and the contents of the old reservoir were conducted into an artificial reservoir within the city.[2] These works were commenced by Hezekiah immediately after his accession,[3] and they were continued in spite of every change of external fortunes with such zeal that after several years Jerusalem was in a position to meet with calmness even a long siege.

The people, however, during the sixteen years of the reign of Ahaz, had become too indolent and unwarlike, and, on the other hand, the Assyrians then occupied too firm a position at the summit of their power, for any bold determination of this kind to be able to secure in the very first years of the new reign all possible prosperity. Assyrian armies were then encamped in Phœnicia, and perhaps also in the neighbourhood of Judah. Without any delay Shalmaneser despatched a plundering expedition against Judah, against which he had probably already succeeded in stirring up the armies of neighbouring nations; so that, while no attempt was made against the fortified capital, the whole of the country far and wide was laid waste almost without resistance. An army at length marched from Jerusalem against the Assyrian hordes, but, at the

[1] All prophetic testimony is quite in harmony with what is briefly expressed in 2 Kings xviii. 7.

[2] The briefest information on all these points is found in 2 Kings xx. 20, 2 Chron. xxxii. 30; much more definite intelligence, on the other hand, is contained partly in the occasional references Is. xxii. 8–11, partly in the description 2 Chron. xxxii. 3–5,—which must rest for its foundation on an older and more detailed record. These new and excellent fortifications are alluded to in Is. xxxiii. 18, Ps. xlviii. 13[12]sq. Further, in 2 Chron. xxxii. 5 (where the Pesh. and the Ar., following it, have a very strange translation) for וְעַל הַמִּגְ׳ we should read וְעָלֶיהָ לִגְ׳.

[3] This is obviously involved in the words Is. xxii. 8–11, as well as in the circumstances themselves; only from the freer representation of 2 Chron. xxxii 8 sq., could it appear as though the fortifications were not commenced till the time of Sennacherib.

first sight of an enemy so strange, it took to flight; and as the city was invested and lay completely exposed, a peace was hastily concluded, of course on condition of a yearly tribute. The inhabitants of the capital actually celebrated a festival on the occasion of this disgraceful peace, delighted to see the period of comfortable repose extended, if only for a moment; displaying a levity of mind which Isaiah could not find words thundering enough to denounce.[1]

The position of Jerusalem towards the Assyrians thus became very similar to that of Samaria, and for some time it appeared as if it would for the future pursue a parallel course, and run into the same mortal dangers. Samaria had looked eagerly to Egypt for help; and people at Jerusalem allowed themselves to be carried away by the same hope which had deluded expectation in Samaria, and certainly in many other neighbouring states as well; and at about the same time that the last king of Samaria despatched his agents to Egypt, an embassy was sent from Jerusalem also with rich presents for the Egyptian monarch. The want which was then most painfully felt in the petty kingdoms of Palestine, and which it was thought could be soonest supplied by Egyptian help, was a powerful and active cavalry force, in order to be able to offer a successful resistance to the dreaded Assyrian horse.[2] Moreover, it was entirely for the Egyptian interest to enter on an alliance of this kind, because the stream of conquest would at length, in the natural course of events, inevitably lead the Assyrians to Egypt also; but, on the other hand, in Egypt the period of the Hyksos was too remote for any apprehension of serious danger from Asia to be readily entertained; and so the smaller states, which might well have served as a bulwark against the Assyrians, were put off with little else than empty promises, especially as Egypt itself was then suffering greatly from internal divisions, and by the side of the Ethiopian kingdom in the south there existed another in the north, the power of which extended to the centre of the country.[3] In Jerusalem, in the meanwhile, this Egyptian alliance was recommended by the most influential persons as a counterpoise to the growing power and passion of destruction on the part of the Assyrians.

[1] These early fortunes of the kingdom under Hezekiah we can only gather, it is true, from a proper explanation of two addresses of Isaiah, i. and xxii. 1–14; but it would be foolish to refuse to collect from the obvious meaning of such clear utterances all the historical matter which they really contain. At the time when c. i. was delivered, it is probable that only incursions of neighbouring nations had yet penetrated into the country; this affords a better explanation of the expressions in ver. 7.

[2] This is clear from passages like Is. xxx. 16, xxxi. 1, cf. Hos. xiv. 4 [3], as well as from the scoff in Is. xxxvi. 8.

[3] On Is. xxx. 4, and Herod. ii. 141, see remarks below [p. 180].

It was well known that Isaiah would object to it on principle. The negotiations were therefore carried on behind his back, and the promoters of it preferred to rely on the approval of the fickle prophets, who were hostilely disposed towards him. King Hezekiah himself may have been a party to it, since the connexion between Isaiah and himself was by no means so close that the one could not have acted independently of the other. But as soon as Isaiah heard of it, he rose up with all the irrepressible force of his spirit and the poignant utterance of his word of Jahveh, which nothing could weary, in protest against such a proceeding, which even when calmly judged by mere human considerations could not fail to appear under existing circumstances as in the highest degree injurious; and it was due solely to the wonderful power of resistance which this great prophet displayed that the projected alliance did not advance in Jerusalem so far as in Samaria, so that when, soon after, Shalmaneser destroyed Samaria, he resolved still to spare Jerusalem.[1]

It was also about this time that Micah composed the prophetic book which has come down to us from his hand. A homely country prophet, he did not, like Isaiah, speak of great affairs of state and secrets of the realm; but he denounced the more impressively the open transgressions of potentates of every kind, and with the greater freedom threatened the consecrated capital with complete and inevitable ruin if it did not, in the desperate crisis of the age, disengage itself from all corroding internal corruptions, and begin from the very beginning a better life. Thus the younger prophet, although in some passages his language is different from Isaiah's and far more decided, still worked entirely with him for the true prophetic object; and while, from without, the storm, which had been with difficulty averted for a season, gathered more and more lowering around the consecrated shining rock of Zion, the nation, as it closed round it, learned under the discipline of great prophets to put a purer trust in the divine truths which their very exigencies pushed into more forcible prominence, and to have a bolder contempt for false dangers.

In the seven or eight years which followed the fall of Samaria the increasing pressure of the Assyrian power on the little kingdom of Judah became more and more severe and intolerable. Suspicion of Hezekiah's intentions was roused in the Assyrian court, and all the tribes round Judah, extending

[1] Is. xxviii.–xxxii.; cf., further, the *Propheten des A. B.* vol. i. p. 412 sqq. [Trans. ii. 178 sqq.]

down to Arabia, were quickly subjugated by the dreaded armies from the north.[1] To this must be added that in the counsels of the Assyrian kingdom a great expedition against Egypt had been firmly resolved on, for which neither pretexts nor incentives and enticements could be wanting. Shalmaneser, who died a few years after the fall of Samaria, may already have conceived the design of such an expedition; but it was certainly a part of the plan of his successor Sargon,[2] who, during his short reign, sent his general Tartan to reduce the Philistine city Ashdod (Azôtus), the key to Egypt. It was only after three years, however, that Tartan effected the reduction of this border fortress, since the Egyptians themselves probably took pains to defend it.[3] The successor of Sargon was Sennacherib, or more properly *Sanacharib*,[4] who actually did carry out the attack on Egypt, which now lay almost entirely exposed; and it may be readily imagined what suffering was inflicted on Judah by the mere march through the country, and on the capital by the proximity, of such vast forces. The Assyrian power meantime degenerated under this Sennacherib into an insolence and a wild passion for destruction which became more and more unrestrained. Not only were the heaviest tributes demanded, but every possible mortification was inflicted

[1] This results from oracles like Is. xv. sq., xxi. 11–17, because utterances of this kind would not be likely to have been preserved in writing had they not been confirmed by the result. Besides, Herod. ii. 141, calls Sennacherib king of the Arabians and Assyrians, which points to tolerably extensive conquests in Arabia, and cannot be explained from Herod. iii. 5 alone. On the other hand, the oracle of Obadiah belongs (p. 159 sq.) to another series. The similar utterance Num. xxiv. 21 sq. was ten years older; cf. above, pp. 153, 162.

[2] This king is certainly only mentioned in Is. xx. 1, and is wanting in the few continuous lists of these kings which we possess (see below in the chronological survey). But if he only reigned a few months, he might as easily fall out of the list as the three Persian kings in the list in Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. p. 104 sq., Auch.—More than twenty years ago Löwenstern thought he had found the name of this Sargon in the cuneiform inscriptions of Nineveh; and since then it has been usual to treat him as identical with Shalmaneser, and to decipher annals of his reign extending over many years: cf. the essays cited above, p. 148 *note* 4. It would certainly be very instructive if among the many great cuneiform inscriptions from Nineveh there should at length be found one narrating Shalmaneser's victories over Samaria, &c., and it need not yet be despaired of.

[3] Is. xx.

[4] In Herod. ii. 141 he is called Sanacharib, by the LXX and Josephus Sennachérib or Sennachérim. But the same name plainly reappears (which is historically very remarkable, and probably points to an Armenian origin of this dynasty) much later among the Armenians, as king Senekerim of Arzerum in 1021 in Chahnazarian's *Histoire de l'Arménie*, p. 42, Matthias of Edessa's *Hist.* translated by Dulaurier (Paris. 1858), pp. 6, 30, 375, *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.* 1861, p. 399. Other names exhibit a quite similar composition, as *Sanatrughus* in Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 163, and in Moses Chor. *Hist.* ii. 33, 34–36; cf. also the remark in my *Lehrb.* § 23*d*. It is further a question how far the god Sanergei (from Sana and Nergal?) is connected with this, whose name is found with Astara on the Crimean inscription, *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* ii. p. 157.—Of the Annals of Sennacherib as Talbot and Hincks translate and interpret them from the cuneiform inscriptions (*Journ. of the Royal Asiat. Soc. Lond.* 1862, xix. pp. 135–180, Heidenheim's *Vierteljahrsschrift für Engl. Theolog. Forschung und Kritik*, 1862, pp. 389–395), I take here no further notice.

on the good Hezekiah; and as in ancient days Pharaoh had ill-treated the people of Israel in Egypt, so it was now felt in Jerusalem that they were doomed by the Assyrians to the most disgraceful slavery.[1] Under these circumstances even Isaiah alters his language towards the Assyrians, until he actually designates them at last as arbitrarily overstepping their divine destiny for the chastisement of the nations, as delighting in destruction as robbers;[2] absolutely without fear he denounces their offences, and with an oracle of the utmost confidence points to the eternal blessings of Israel, and to the comforting certainty of the consummation of the Messianic kingdom of God in Israel, nay, even in Jerusalem; but yet he always exhorts to tranquillity and circumspection, to trustful waiting till a divine sign should announce the certain overthrow of the Assyrians which should not fail, and the commencement of better times. The desire to conclude an alliance with Egypt was repeatedly aroused in Jerusalem during this period; but it only drew forth from the prophet the more indefatigable opposition.[3] The powerful Ethiopian king Tirhakah, in the south of Egypt, despatched a solemn embassy to Jerusalem in this period of depression to proffer friendship and assistance; Isaiah recommended that it should be courteously sent back with the information that the great crisis would shortly ensue on the mountains of the holy land.[4] By discreet counsel in every new and perplexing question which arose during the severe tension of this period, as well as by the devout trust which his inspired word was able to awaken in the speedy approach of a better future, the great prophet became in conjunction with Hezekiah the protecting spirit of the people and the realm in years when any imprudent collision with the Assyrians must inevitably have caused certain ruin, while patient firm endurance on the other hand could not fail to bring the possibility of a dispersion of the sultry storm.

And this moment came speedily enough. Sennacherib probably invaded Egypt about six years after the fall of Samaria; and the position of affairs in that country appeared highly favourable to his desire for conquest. For, although Tirhakah, the reigning king, the third prince of the Ethiopian dynasty, is celebrated as a great conqueror in Africa,[5] yet northern and

[1] Is. x. 5–14; comp. with Micah iv. 11, 14. [v. 1], v. 4 [v. 5] sq.

[2] Is. x. 5 sq.; further, xvii. 14; cf. xxxiii. 1.

[3] Is. xx.

[4] Is. xviii.; comp. 2 Kings xix. 9, and *Propheten des A. B.* i. p. 289 sqq. [i. 462 sqq. 2nd ed.; ii. 243 sqq. Trans.]

[5] Strabo, xv. 1, 6, cf. i. 3, 16; the allusion in Megasthenes is certainly only incidental and too brief.

central Egypt were at that time subject to a separate king, whom Herodotus calls Sethon, a priest of Hephæstus. He had fixed his seat of government in the northern city of Tanis,[1] but was living in discord with the military caste. Northern and central Egypt, therefore, at any rate, appeared likely to fall an easy prey to the Assyrians if the Ethiopian king persisted in his hostility against this priest of Hephæstus, who had probably only been placed on the throne by a popular insurrection. Trusting to this, as it appears, Sennacherib really did send his armies to Egypt by the ordinary road through Pelusium. But neither of his two expectations was fulfilled. Before it had advanced very far, the army despatched to Egypt was compelled by some occurrence which could not have been foreseen to make so dishonourable a retreat that the popular tradition of Egypt tells of the miraculous means by which the gods, at the prayer of the priest of Hephæstus, drove away the Assyrians without any help from the military caste.[2] And the Ethiopian king had, as has been already said, himself offered assistance in Jerusalem against Sennacherib; nor did the half-evasive answer which he probably received there deter him from setting a powerful army in motion against Sennacherib. By his retreat from the Egyptian border Sennacherib was thus placed in great danger, but he swiftly determined to maintain himself with the troops which still remained in the fortresses of Southern Asia, and to collect quickly all the resources which there lay open to him. Accordingly he threw himself with a superior force on Judah, and commenced treating it with all the severity of the rights of war, without communicating to king Hezekiah a single word of his intentions. The resources of the country were to be completely exhausted; Jerusalem, with the other fortresses, transformed into strong military centres for the Assyrian army; the house of David with the rest of the principal inhabitants carried away into captivity. Pretexts against Hezekiah, should they have the opportunity of conversing, could not fail him; he only needed to remind him of his previous negotiations with Egypt and the

[1] This is evident not merely from Herod. ii. 141 (certainly Herodotus nowhere says anything about Tirhakah), but also from passages like Is. xxx. 4, where, together with Tanis as capital, mention is made of Hanes, the most southerly town of Egypt at that time; cf. xix. 11. This also explains why Sethon is wholly wanting in Manetho's lists of kings; he was only a passing rival by the side of the Ethiopic dynasty.

[2] All the arms of the Assyrians were eaten up in one night by mice, Herod ii. 141. What a different spirit breathes in the popular tradition of the Egyptians from that of the Old Testament.—The fact that Sennacherib really did march through the arid desert on the south of Palestine and was in Egypt, is not stated, it is true, in the brief historical narrative in the Old Testament, but is clearly involved in Isaiah's words, 2 Kings xix. 24.

lukewarmness with which he had been met on his march to Egypt. But his real motives, no doubt, lay in the military exigencies in which he saw himself entangled, perhaps also in his rage at the failure of his expedition against Egypt and the courage of a petty nation which trusted only to its formless god Jahveh.

It was the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah when Sennacherib resolved on his ruin.[1] The blow was unexpected in Jerusalem; and yet the danger was infinitely greater than the good Hezekiah could at first be aware of. As soon as he heard that Sennacherib was entering Judah from the south-west and capturing the fortified towns, he sent to him the humble request that he would fix any fine he pleased, to appease his anger. The king of kings whose need of money was then not less pressing than his military difficulties, received the ambassadors at Lachish, which he was then besieging, and fixed the fine at three hundred talents of silver and thirty of gold. Hezekiah collected all the gold from the treasures of the temple and palace, but was compelled in addition to strip the doors and posts of the temple of the overlaid gold with which he had himself adorned them. The Assyrian deputies at Jerusalem were insatiable; they coveted everything and inspected everything; they counted up exactly the towers which Hezekiah[2] had increased in number, and considered the land already quite like a conquered country;[3] and Sennacherib, after receiving the fine demanded, continued his march of conquest from south to north.[4] In Jerusalem the terror at this fresh act of perfidy was great; but from the midst of the agitation which it caused, and the danger which became more formidable every day, the voices of genuine prophets were raised with power, pointing to the imperishable elements in the true community and proclaiming the approach of a great crisis, the crushing weight of which should alight only on the faithless, whether they were among the Assyrians or in Judah.[5]

[1] From this point begins the continuous narrative taken from some full historical work, which has been incorporated both in 2 Kings xviii. 13–xx. and in Is. xxxvi.–xxxix., but, in both the works which we now possess, with abbreviations which are sometimes more extensive in the one and sometimes in the other. The Chronicler, 2 Chron. xxxii. 9–25, only gives from it a very compressed representation, and more in his own peculiar style.

[2] P. 175 sq.

[3] 2 Kings xviii. 13–16, Is. xxxiii. 18 sq. comp. with Ps. xlviii. 12 sq.

[4] The supposition of Josephus, *Ant.* x. 1, 1. 4, that Sennacherib did not undertake his expedition against Egypt until now, is quite arbitrary, and when examined more closely, false, because it is against the most distinct statements of the Hebrew narrative; while Josephus is only attempting to establish an outward connexion between 2 Kings xviii. sq. and Herodotus.

[5] In Is. xxxiii., unquestionably composed by a disciple of Isaiah's, we have the clearest reflexion of the great excitement of those days.

It was not long before Sennacherib sent against Jerusalem itself a large army under his tried general Tartan, with the chief eunuch and the chief cup-bearer to negotiate. This army encamped by the northern wall of the city on a spot which even in later times continued to be known as the 'Assyrian camp;'[1] and the leaders demanded an interview with Hezekiah himself. The king meantime sent his three ministers to them; and in their presence the chief cup-bearer uttered in loud tones the most contemptuous speeches about their master and the baseless trust which he had placed partly in Egypt, and partly in Jahveh,—that God whose honour Hezekiah himself had recently violated by diminishing the number of his sanctuaries, and who doubtless angered by such a proceeding, was more likely to destroy Jerusalem by the Assyrians, than to defend it. The king's ministers entreated him to speak Aramean instead of the language of Judah, that the subjects of Hezekiah seated on the wall might not hear such revilings of their own king. Then he declared that it was not to the king that he was sent, and placing himself right before the wall, he cried to all the people no longer to trust in Hezekiah, but rather to surrender to the great king whose might no nation and no god had ever withstood; thus should they live on quietly until by the great king's mercy they should be removed to another fruitful land. But the people were silent; and when Hezekiah received the melancholy tidings he sent the two first ministers and the elders of the priests to Isaiah to ask whether by his intercession (for the living God was so wickedly blasphemed by the Assyrians) he could procure any help in this utter extremity. Isaiah desired the king to remain firm and fearless in spite of the insolent threats of these Assyrian knaves:[2] so the chief cup-bearer was informed that his demand could not be acceded to. But just as he returned to find his master at Libnah, another southern fortress for the reduction of which he had moved from Lachish, Sennacherib received the news of Tirhakah's march, and accordingly, before this intelligence could spread further, he sent in haste a letter to Hezekiah, in which he warned him urgently against any further resistance. The king took the letter, which spoke contemptuously of the power of the God of Israel, went in anguish into the temple, and spread

[1] We may at least suppose that this name in Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* v. 7. 3, 12. 2, cf. 9. 4, has this historical origin, although in the *Ant.* x. 1 Josephus takes no notice of it.

[2] The oracle of Isaiah, uttered on that occasion, is reported in 2 Kings xix. 6 sq. in shorter and more ordinary language than Isaiah otherwise uses; only its general contents, therefore, are proclaimed; and the same remark applies to it which has been already made (iii. p. 170) on a similar case.

it out in prayer before the altar, as if to awaken the divine anger against its author,[1] and forthwith Isaiah announced to him the divine comfort with greater force and decision, if possible, than before.[2] The more threatening and presumptuous the language of Sennacherib became, the firmer was the confidence in God against all his vain human boasts which was expressed by Isaiah's powerful oracle, and which possessed alike the king and the whole people. He was an absolutely immovable refuge in this tempest, and the inflexible energy of his spirit increased with the fury of the storm. On the thread of a few moments hung the fate of the whole realm; for the course of its history would have been totally different, had Sennacherib been able to throw himself victoriously into the great fortress at Jerusalem, and there calmly await the attack of Tirhakah. But before he could secure himself with all his hosts within the walls of Jerusalem, he was overtaken by two decisive disasters. Terror at the approach of the Ethiopian army must have operated powerfully on his troops, already intimidated by the mischance in Egypt; and at the same time a desolating plague broke out at his head-quarters. An army accustomed to the pride of victory easily becomes hopelessly dispirited by a series of disasters following in quick succession. The once vast forces were no longer to be restrained from wild flight, and an enraged deity seemed to chase Sennacherib back to Nineveh, from which he did not for a long time venture forth again.

3. Seldom has the flight of a disorganised army been followed by such important consequences; for it is seldom that the threads on either side have been so severely strained, and so much loyal constancy to elevated religion and pure love of country has stood opposed to such presumption and imprudence. That the liberated Judahites pursued the fleeing Assyrians, expelled them wherever they were found still concealed in fortresses or other strongholds, made rich booty, and celebrated many victories, may be obviously assumed, although it is not stated in the book of Kings.[3] We do not know much of the events which immediately followed; not even whether the Ethiopian monarch actually crossed the gulf of Elath into Asia or not. In general terms we cannot state positively more than the fact that the Assyrian power in the southern countries, and even (as we are

[1] Such an actual laying down of the object in the sanctuary is found even as late as 1 Macc. iii. 48.

[2] In the splendid oracle 2 Kings xix. 20–34; cf. the *Propheten des A. B.* i. p. 299 sqq. [i. 476. 2nd ed.; ii. 261. Trans.]

[3] But the remembrance of it shines out very clearly from those hymns of the time which have been preserved, Ps. xlvi. 7 [8] sq., lxxvi. 4 [3], 6 [5] sq.

soon to see) in Babylonia, received at that time such severe blows that it was quite unable for a considerable period to think of reconquering even these; the echo of the disasters in Egypt and Judah seems to have penetrated even into Media, which about this time made itself independent of the Assyrian sway;[1] and perhaps this was also the beginning of the internal discords in the Assyrian royal family itself of which we shall have more to say further on. But this only brings out the more strongly into the full light of history the important consequences of that rapid turn of affairs at Jerusalem to the general condition of the kingdom. In the development of these great events Jerusalem had been the point about which finally everything turned; but it was also the strong rock on which the arrogance of the Assyrians was broken; and, as has been already said, it was no mere war of plunder or conquest, the fire of which was burning between the Assyrians and Judahites, but it had at last all been lifted up to the higher level of a religious war. If in this the victory passed over to the side of Jerusalem and the little kingdom of Judah, faith in the power of the purely spiritual God who was there worshipped, at once achieved a visible triumph which could not easily be surpassed in splendour; and the strong trust in him which Isaiah had taught by his powerful utterance not only in all his long career, but also with special passion in the last great crisis, and which king Hezekiah had confirmed by his steadfastness, received the highest justification. Again one of those rare days was come when the truth which the hand cannot grasp, and which under other circumstances has such difficulty in penetrating deeply into men's souls, forced itself with overpowering certainty upon that nation which had since the time of Moses been undergoing a more and more subtle preparation for apprehending it more intensely. The wearisome distress and the severe trial which preceded, as well as the surprising deliverance and the concentration of all on faith in the true help, may even be said to form for this age a sort of connexion with the era of the foundation of the community itself;[2] and in the long series of centuries through which the history passes, few spirits approach so near as Isaiah to the elevation of Moses. On this account the influence of this pe-

[1] Herod. i. 95 sqq., Josephus *Ant.* x. 2, 2. Another account certainly is given by Ctesias in Diod. Sic. ii. 32 sqq. Also, according to Tobit i. 15, Media was lost under Sennacherib; and that after his disgraceful return from Judea Sennacherib treated the exiled Israelites on the Tigris with all the more severity, as is described in Tobit i. 18 sqq., may well be historically true. Perhaps they had then conceived the first hope of speedy liberation, and begun a more active movement among themselves.

[2] Vol. ii. pp. 70 sqq., 169 sqq.

riod on the future is extraordinary, and the history of the kingdom of Judah enters here on its third stage. The joyous songs of the age, some of them sung in the congregation, some of them to be used more freely, which retain the immediate impressions of these great events, are full of the purest trust in God, who is as unknown as he is terrible to the heathen, the most cheerful confidence in the true community, and the most swelling Messianic hopes.[1] It was these which preserved the memory of the wonderful deliverance of Jerusalem and the glorification of its sanctuary so long unenfeebled, and even contributed to its development into the prodigious.[2] And when, twenty years after,[3] they looked back on the wonderful event in all its bearings, no other symbol seemed adequate than that of an angel, who, on the night of the same day on which Isaiah had delivered his last utterance against Assyrian insolence, was sent from heaven into the enemy's camp, and slew one hundred and eighty-five thousand men, like the destroying angel, who, at the time of the foundation of the community, smote the first-born of the Egyptians.[4]

This was the turning-point in Hezekiah's life, the rest of which passed away, so far as we know, without interruption in honour and prosperity.[5] He lived only fifteen years longer, and died in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Shortly after the intense strain and exertion of that critical period of his reign, he became so seriously ill of an inflammation which passed into a tumour that Isaiah advised him to think of giving his last directions. The pious and true-hearted king, who, according to the sentiments of that age, looked upon death as an utterly hopeless misfortune to a man in the prime of life, would not believe that it was so soon to come upon him, but prayed full of fervour to Jahveh, before whom he had lived in innocence, for the prolongation of his life. The hymn of thanksgiving which he sang in the temple after his recovery is really the most beautiful evidence of his unvarnished piety, although at the same time a permanent witness to the hopeless horror of death which could still at that time sway the mind of a pious man in the community of Israel.[6] The unex-

[1] Pss. xlvi., xlviii., lxxv. sq.: cf. the *Dichter des A. B.* ii. p. 132, 3rd ed.

[2] Cf. e.g. Ps. lix. according to its proper meaning.

[3] The passage 2 Kings xix. 35, which is abbreviated in Is. xxxvii. 36, together with the whole piece mentioned p. 181, cannot have been written until after Hezekiah's death; about how long after will be made clearer below by a special example.

[4] In Ex. xii. 29 instead of Jahveh his angel might equally well have been named (ii. p. 217 sq.).

[5] This is implied in an utterance of Hezekiah himself, which the narrative thought worthy of record, 2 Kings xix. 19; it is equally clearly implied in the representation of Isaiah's words to the sick king, ibid. xix. 6.

[6] Vol. ii. p. 133 sq.

pected deliverance of a prince so beloved from the last extremity of disease evidently remained for a long time a subject of eager and repeated narration, especially with reference to the part which Isaiah had taken in it. According to the existing account, Isaiah had just quitted the king without hope of life, and was crossing the inner court of the palace,[1] when a divine impulse reached him in answer to Hezekiah's prayer. Impelled by it, he went back, promised him recovery on the third day, and prescribed for him a remedy of a paste of figs. As a pledge of the certain return of his health for fifteen years he gave him a sign, namely, the regress of the shadow on the sun-dial constructed on the palace by Ahaz over the ten steps which it had already on that day advanced. In considering this representation we must not overlook the fact that it cannot have received its present form until twenty years or more after the event, and not till after the death both of Hezekiah and Isaiah.[2] The beneficent cooperation of Isaiah in this domestic distress of the good prince is matter of historical certainty, and his powerful word of trust and comfort doubtless contributed wonderfully to the restoration of the invalid.[3]

It is natural to suppose that Hezekiah availed himself as speedily as possible of the liberty he had gained to restore the dignity and power of the realm against the small surrounding nations; and this, as regards the Philistines at any rate, is confirmed by express testimony in the historical books;[4] while on

[1] Vol. iii. p. 250 sq.

[2] The remarks made on a similar case (p. 182 *note* 2) hold good of 2 Kings xx. 5 sq.; and the conclusion is clearly imitated from that of a real speech of Isaiah's, 2 Kings xix. 34.

[3] As regards the sign on the sun-dial, it is to be observed that in other cases Isaiah only gives signs which are to occur as future events, in order that by them the fulfilment of events of a like nature, but far greater and harder to believe in, may be recognised (Is. vii. 14, xxxvii. 30). The similarity here consists in this—that the shadow on the dial is to go back as a sign that the termination of Hezekiah's life will in like manner recede for many years; as though the same God who could bring back the time-marker, could also make the limit of Hezekiah's years retrograde. But in order to have an exact insight into this occurrence on the dial, we ought to have an older account and, further, to have more precise information of the nature of the dial itself. But if the idea was that the retrogression of the shadow would simply be *harder* than its advance (2 Kings xx. 10) it must be conceded that it could not be a sudden but a gradual retrogression of the shadow over the ten steps (degrees) which was meant. This very fact, however, inclines us to believe that the expression was originally used figuratively (like a similar one explained in ii. 251 sq.), and the present representation would only show the lofty respect in which Isaiah was held about twenty years after his death. For the rest, the narrative Is. xxxviii. 1–8 has obviously been abridged from the original one; so that some ancient reader may have copied ver. 21 sq. out of the more perfect account on to the margin, in order to complete it.

[4] 2 Kings xviii. 8: that this complete subjugation of the Philistines could not belong to the time before the Assyrian defeat is clear from such expressions as Is. xiv. 28–32, xi. 14. The Chronicler, as usual, expresses himself in more general terms (2 Chron. xxxii. 22, where, instead of the wholly unintelligible וינהלם, we should read with the LXX, according to the common expression of the Chronicles, וַיְנַח לָהֶם; cf. 1 Chron. xxii. 18, 2 Chron. xiv. 6, xv. 15, xx. 30).

the south of Judah the Simeonites of their own accord spread to a considerable distance in a southern direction.[1] Whether, however, he made any attempt to reconquer the provinces that had formerly constituted the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, the deficiency of both direct and indirect information prevents us from deciding. In any case, he might soon learn that, though the Assyrian power had sustained a severe shock, it still continued to exist; while, on its part, it must have made efforts as soon as possible to defend its uncontested territories.

In like manner, we may readily believe that numerous contemporary princes sent their congratulations and homage to Hezekiah, as the Chronicles[2] in general terms describe. Of one remarkable case of the kind we still possess some details. Soon after Hezekiah's recovery, the Babylonian king Merodach-Baladan, called in Ptolemy's canon Mardokempad,[3] solemnly sent him a letter with his homage, ostensibly to congratulate him on his recovery, but in reality, no doubt, to investigate more closely through his ambassadors the condition of the forces of the kingdom of Judah. That Babylon was at that time very restless, and repeatedly thought of throwing off the Assyrian supremacy, is proved both by the short reigns of its princes and the interregnums in Ptolemy's canon, and also by the few pieces of information which have come down to us from Berosus through Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus:[4] and if Hezekiah had been an ambitious prince, he might perhaps have then concluded a league with this Babylonian subject-king and other princes for the overthrow of the Assyrian power. The good king was delighted indeed with the arrival of an embassy so complimentary from a distant country, and kindly showed them all his treasures, stores, and armouries, which may have been considerably increased, now that a year had elapsed since the country regained its freedom; but, warned by Isaiah, he concluded no alliance with Babylon. The prophet saw deeper into the vanity of all such transactions between the kingdoms of

[1] 1 Chron. iv. 34–43; cf. i. pp. 240, 252. The erroneous conclusions which the work of Dozy attempted to draw from this passage I have sufficiently criticised in the *Göt. Gel. Anz.* 1864, pp. 1265–80. It is to be observed, however, that even this late expedition of colonists has thirteen leaders, according to the *Alterth.* pp. 294, 355.

[2] 2 Chron. xxxii. 23.

[3] Perhaps abbreviated from Mardokempalad, for some of the names in Ptolemy's canon have plainly lost some of their letters. He reigned, according to this statement, from 721 to 709 B.C. On the other hand, the Merodach-Baladan mentioned in Eus. *Chron. Arm.* i. p. 42 sq. from Alex. Polyhistor, cannot be the one here meant, because he only ruled in Babylon for six months, and moreover before Elib or Belib, and therefore not till towards the end of Sennacherib's reign; like every other king who did not reign a whole year, he is left out of the canon.

[4] And even these Eusebius appears to have mutilated very much in the Chronicle, i. 42–44, 53 sq.

that age. An effort directed to a higher purpose was then little successful in bringing together the kingdoms of the earth; and from Babylonia especially Judah had nothing good to hope for, inasmuch as that state, though often in dispute with Nineveh, yet in all its chief characteristics (as will be shown further on) essentially resembled Assyria, and it was really only a question whether Nineveh or Babylon should be the seat of universal dominion. Moreover, a kingdom of that kind, which apparently entertained friendly sentiments or was even in alliance, might easily become hostile, as Judah had experienced in the case of the Assyrian power itself; and it accordingly flashed like lightning across Isaiah's mind that Babylon, attracted by those very treasures which Hezekiah, not without a certain complacency, had displayed to the ambassadors, might in the future become dangerous to that same kingdom of Judah which it was now flattering. But Isaiah's expression to Hezekiah would hardly have been recorded had not history under the king's immediate successor soon enough fulfilled his anticipations of evil; and the experience of this fulfilment insensibly determined the colouring of the representation.[1]

Sennacherib himself continued to be too closely occupied partly in Babylonia, where he finally placed his son Esarhaddon as viceroy, partly in the north-west and northern districts,[2] to be able to think of a reconquest of the south-western territories. He died about the same time as Hezekiah, murdered by his two sons Adrammelech and Anammelech while he was performing his devotions in the temple of his god Nisroch.[3] In Egypt also, where Sethon, the royal priest of Hephæstus, had been living in strife with the military caste,[4] the internal disputes during the last years of Hezekiah's reign amounted to the dissolution of almost all government,[5] and occasioned the aged Isaiah to take

[1] The words in 2 Kings xx. 17 sq. cannot possibly be referred to the time of Nebuchadnezzar. The language is too explicit about Hezekiah's own sons, and what is said of them is too special to have been expressed in this form before the experiences of Manasseh's reign. For the rest, the reading 'he rejoiced over it,' Is. xxxix. 2, is certainly better than the other, 2 Kings xx. 13, as it develops the meaning of the whole narrative. The word נכח there corresponds with the Aramean ܢܟܬ, 'treasures.'

[2] Whence he undertook a victorious expedition to Cilicia against Greek pirates, which is not, however, mentioned in the Old Testament; see Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. pp. 43, 53. Cf., however, above. p. 162; and there is the best evidence that the Assyrians ruled Cyprus for a considerable time, from the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions which have been discovered there.

[3] 2 Kings xix. 37; cf. Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. p. 43. The later Rabbis supposed that these two parricides had become Jews, and in the Middle Ages their tombs were shown in *Galilee*; see Carmoly's *Itinéraires* in several accounts.

[4] P. 180.

[5] From this finally proceeded the so-called dodecarchy of Herodotus, the nature of which has certainly not yet been made clear from the Egyptian inscriptions which

that marvellously elevated survey of the ruin of heathenism and the future reconciliation of all nations by the higher religion, which affords us the last and at the same time the most glorious proof of the kingliness of his prophetic spirit.[1] The great prophet died probably about the same time as the two kings on whose lives and fortunes he had exercised so powerful an influence, Hezekiah and Sennacherib;[2] and the simultaneous death of these three sovereigns of their age might afford an opportunity for the easier rise of a wholly new development.

Hezekiah was the last king who not only reigned in the spirit of the true religion, but also reigned prosperously till his death. The Chronicler, accordingly, sketches out a peculiarly glorious picture of the admirable activity, justly blessed by heaven, which he displayed from the first. Hezekiah, it cannot be doubted, at the very commencement of his reign, removed the innovations of Ahaz from the temple, and restored it into conformity with the ancient laws;[3] a further description of this may have been contained in the state annals; and this may have been the source from which the Chronicler obtained the names of the Levites which he weaves into his narrative.[4] It is equally certain that Hezekiah early attempted to effect an improvement in the arrangements of worship. The Chronicler, however, in extending both these facts to the general condition of the people of both kingdoms in the critical period at the beginning of Hezekiah's reign, was not only drawing in firm lines a picture of the pattern activity of a king who might serve as a model for all,[5] but was also endeavouring in this way to prepare for the great development of the subsequent history of this age. Hezekiah is thus represented to have given orders immediately after his accession for the reopening from the first day of the new year (in spring) of the temple doors which had been closed by Ahaz,[6] and for the purification of the whole edifice. This ceremony lasted till the sixteenth of the month, till beyond the proper time, that is, fixed by law for the commencement of the Passover. The celebration of this festival of national purification was therefore postponed till the following month;[7] but at the same time all the Israelites of the northern kingdom were

have hitherto been deciphered; cf. Lepsius in the *Berl. Acad. Abhandll.* 1856, pp. 300 sqq., Mariette and Rougé in the *Revue de l'Instruction*, 1863, Juli.

[1] Is. xix. cf. the *Propheten des A. B.* i. p. 301 sqq. [i. p. 480 sqq. 2nd ed.; ii. p. 266 sqq. Trans.]

[2] Whether Isaiah was still alive under Manasseh, and was cruelly executed by this king, as late writers state, will be discussed below in Manasseh's life.

[3] P. 173.

[4] 2 Chron. xxix. 12–14, xxxi. 12–15.

[5] It is only on occasion of his illness that the Chronicler ascribes to this prince a fit of pride, which, however, soon passes away, xxxii. 25 sq.

[6] According to the older book, he only adorned these doors afresh (p. 181).

[7] See my *Alterthümer*, p. 386.

invited to it; most of these, however, ridiculed the whole affair,[1] and only a few attended. After this festival had been held with every solemnity, the false sanctuaries, it is added, were destroyed throughout the country; and in conclusion, the first fruits, tithes, and other sacred gifts were paid in this year with the greatest diligence.[2] This was, as it were, the last respite afforded for the expiation and correction of national sins; and the issue of this period of preparation in the first year of Hezekiah enables us to understand how the northern kingdom could perish without deliverance, while the southern was capable of being redeemed. The description of the details of festal customs and religious usages is in this case one of the main objects of this narrator; and this confers upon the whole of this long passage an important significance even for the rigid truth of history.

Although thus elevated by his age, king Hezekiah is still himself a man so rare and remarkable that it is easy to understand how later generations could begin to raise him to a far higher position than is done even in the Chronicles, and to link whole books to his name. The vestiges of a later book of this kind may still be traced with sufficient clearness.[3]

D. DEVELOPMENT OF ART, PHILOSOPHY, AND LITERATURE.

Such was the resistance offered in the course of these centuries by the better spirit of Israel, assuming many forms and exerting all its power against the ruin of the kingdom and the nationality; and still, in the midst of the advancing overthrow of all its temporal supports, which finally became inevitable, it attained much fresh energy and renovated vigour. If ever there flashed through some deep-seeing souls the presentiment of the necessary fall of the whole temporal existence of the ancient kingdom of God, yet the saddened gaze regained its cheerfulness in the ever-recurring certainty of the impossibility that the eternal element of Israel's greatness could ever actually perish. So manifold and so profound was the experience of the immortality which from the commencement inhered in the true community, so numerous were the new truths attained upon

[1] Like the Sodomites on a similar opportunity of purification, Gen. xix. 14. This little trait of the representation 2 Chron. xxx. 10 exhibits most clearly the spirit of the whole; cf., also, the transition xxxii. 1.

[2] 2 Chron. xxix.–xxxi.

[3] The brief account of him in the *Baraita M.* פסחים, iv. 9, can only be understood, so far as it is not clearly drawn from the Old Testament, as derived from the poetic inventions of some late book of this kind. It was there narrated, for example, that he had buried his father upon a mean bier, constructed only of cords; had declared apocryphal a book on the art of medicine, &c. This last is probably a mere inference from Is. xxxviii. 21.—See further what is narrated, evidently from an apocryphon, in 2 Bar. lxiii. lxiv.

this basis, that the anticipation of Israel's destiny to a great and spiritual part in the world's history was already arising clearly in its midst; and in spite of the ruin which threatened or had in part already arrived, the hope of an eternal spiritual perpetuity grew stronger day by day.

The truest picture of this elevated spirit of the ancient community which for so long struggled with the happiest results against external ruin, is reflected in the rich literature to which the life of those centuries gave birth. Round the existence of an ancient although much diminished kingdom of famous memory there still revolved the deepest endeavours of all the noblest minds in the nation; and still, upon the national soil of a religion as lofty as it was incomplete, new and difficult problems of life pressed for a solution. The literature of those times, therefore, comes before us as the noblest or at any rate clearest manifestation of the ideas and aspirations which moved the age. It is often, it is true, full of lamentation and complaint over the spreading corruption, or of yearning for the improvement and perfection that are to come; but yet it flows mainly from the healthiest and most vigorous life of an uncurbed present, and is the most glorious interpreter not only of the most impressive, but also of the truest and most eternal thoughts. The literature of the ancient people was only now capable of producing its greatest work, while the noble old spirit of true religion which lived in Israel exerted itself to the utmost to save the sinking edifice of its ancient and venerable house; and men's thoughts, occupied by the pressing needs of the present, had at the same time to defend a great past, and gazed freely into a veiled but assuredly still greater future. Neither the ages of despair nor of complete self-satisfaction are the noblest in literature, or marked by the most elevated and lasting literary efforts; these are to be found in periods which have already much to protect and to sustain, in the midst of the necessity and joy of achieving yet greater triumphs.

The paths of literary composition had been long ago levelled by the splendid beginnings of earlier ages; and the number of writings certainly increased now to an extraordinary extent, with, if possible, still greater rapidity than before; thus much, at any rate, we may securely recognise from the extremely varied rills of that great stream of literature which have flowed down to us. We now observe the preparation and circulation of manuscripts has long been carried on by a sort of guild.[1]

[1] According to the short expression, 1 Chron. ii. 55, comp. with iv. 21, and, further, with Ps. xlv. 2 [1], Is. xxix. 11 sq.; cf., also, above p. 79, and my *Alterthümer*, p. 296.

Moreover, the higher art to which so strong an impulse was given by Solomon still tended, if with less rapid leaps yet still successfully, to combine with literature and to transfigure it, and in all the lower arts, crafts, and dexterities of life the nation had by this time long stood second to none; in the great works under Hezekiah,[1] there was certainly no need, as there had been under Solomon, to call in professional help from other quarters. Some knowledge of the art of mining, also, cannot at this time have been strange to the ancient people, although we can only conjecture that they then occupied themselves with it partly in the Sinaitic peninsula, partly on Lebanon.[2]

The extent to which this whole period was penetrated by the effort to attain knowledge and enjoy its fruits, an effort which even ran into exaggeration and tended to produce decline, has been already intimated;[3] for it contributed powerfully to determine the whole form and direction of the age. We ought not, however, to omit to notice the fact that all the nations which bordered on Israel were evidently at that time seized by a similar aspiration after the higher knowledge, and were able to enter into a sort of rivalry for it with Israel. If we only now possessed more evidence about the independent life of these nations, our insight into details would of course be much clearer; but a single instance may still prove very instructive. At first sight nothing can be more surprising than that even the Idumeans, who always appear as hard as their own rock, with the roughness and inflexibleness of a warlike people, should now be celebrated also for their wise men; yet this is the case. In vivacity and energy of mind this nearest of Israel's 'brothers' is far more distinguished during that period than the Moabites and Ammonites, now almost decayed; and the history of this people, could we only follow it more closely and connectedly, could not fail to be very instructive. We have already observed on how many occasions, since the time of David and Solomon, Edom again and again raised itself out of subjection with indomitable love of freedom. Many traces, however, show that in these, and still more in the

[1] P. 175.

[2] The description in Job xxviii. 1–11, to judge by the general circumstances of the author, might refer to mining in the Sinaitic peninsula (cf. the book of Aristeas, p. 114 sq.), or elsewhere in the southern districts; Deut. viii. 9, cf. xxxiii. 19, 25, appears also to refer to Lebanon. Allusions to the operations of mining are frequent. —In the later Roman times the mines at Φαινώ were celebrated. This is the Idumean פינן of the Old Testament, where the Christians had to work as slaves, as we now learn with more precision than from Eusebius' Greek book *De Martyribus Palaestinae*, from the corresponding work in Syriac which is much more complete (ed. by Cureton, London, 1861), 20. 1 sq., 25. 7, 26. 19, 30. 11, 33. 21, 49. 7 (cf., also, his *Onomasticon* under Φινών); according to 49. 12, the city was not far from זֹעַר, Ζοαρά.

[3] P. 114 sq.

subsequent centuries, this nation must repeatedly have gained great accessions of strength from newly-advancing Arab populations, and must have understood the art of blending itself with them, with by no means the worst results. That it learned by these opportunities to participate actively in the arts of commerce and trade has been already stated.[1] It will, therefore, no longer appear so very surprising that it was not behindhand in the aspiration after knowledge, and that the fame of its wisdom reached even to Israel.[2] We have, however, often remarked already that all the kingdoms from the Tigris to the Nile stood at that time in relations of the closest and most varied nature; and that when the ancient power of Israel was already broken, it was less and less capable of protecting itself from the forcible intrusion of foreign opinions, customs, and arts. Hence the rivalry in wisdom and in the effort to attain it, which had arisen between Israel and other nations in the days of Solomon,[3] could not fail to be developed with increasing activity.

It is true that the gradual contraction of the whole life of the people of Israel after Solomon, and its special devotion to the maintenance and continuance of the true religion, were accompanied by the descent of the more refined art and literature from the elevation and extension in which they had moved in the age of Solomon; they sank deeper and deeper into that narrow circle of efforts with which all the more active spirits of the nation were then chiefly occupied, for the support of the true religion in the midst of the embarrassments and disasters of these later days. All their literature, so far as it owes its special force to the impulse of this period, now became a literature consecrated specially to religion; for even poetry and historical composition alike, as they develope further, are pressed the more devotedly into its service. But in the midst of these limitations in which literature finds itself more and more closely involved, its form, viewed from this one side, becomes the more decided, pure, and grand; so that under these

[1] P. 159.

[2] Obadiah ver. 7 sq., where the words are still from the original prophet; the whole of the book of Job may be named in this connexion, since the chief wise man Eliphaz would certainly not have been assigned to the Idumean city Teman, had it not, at the time of the poet, long had the repute of great wisdom. From an age somewhat later come the additional testimonies, Jer. xlix. 7, Bar. iii. 22 sq.; cf. *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iv. p. 78. That even the common people and their religion were in those countries deeply penetrated by efforts after knowledge, we learn from the laws explained in Diod. *Hist.* xix. 94–98.—It is remarkable that in later writings an Assyrian sage 𒀭𒌷𒁀𒀀, is mentioned at the time of Sennacherib's son Sarchadun (i.e. Esarhaddon); see *Catal. Codd. Syr. Mus. Brit.* p. 111*a*.

[3] Vol. iii. p. 276 sqq.

conditions a literature to which antiquity can offer no parallel attains perfection, which, so far as religion is concerned, is still less approached by that of other nations, even at a distance. Among the special problems which now meet us, one of the most difficult is to determine whether we still possess any literary remains of this period from the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. Something derived from this kingdom has certainly been preserved, as we have seen,[1] from the preceding period; and we have no reason to doubt that in this also literary composition was actively carried on.[2] There is every appearance that the ancient portion of the oracle[3] on Moab, which Isaiah enlarged and adopted into his book,[4] really descended from an early prophet of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes.[5] Hosea, again, is a literary prophet who was born in this kingdom, and consecrated to it his whole power; but the melancholy events of his life, already alluded to, typify the gloomy end which from day to day pressed more inexorably on all its higher efforts, and from the grasp of which, therefore, its literature could not hope to escape: and the final overthrow, from which the kingdom never really rose again, evidently precipitated into the abyss the great rich stream of literature which it had poured forth during this century and a half. Yet there are still, perhaps, preserved a few fragments from the last days of this kingdom, which was penitent too late.[6] Some spirits at least there must have been besides Hosea, who strained every nerve, the nearer its doom approached, to raise the whole people to true repentance and power in God; and this is rendered the more credible since even this kingdom had really always refused to abandon the ancient religion of Jahveh, and by law, at any rate, rested upon it alone.

But the limitations in which the life and literature of Israel

[1] P. 42 sq.

[2] Cf. above, pp. 9, 124 *note* 1.

[3] P. 145 *note* 1. [4] Is. xv. sq.

[5] Just as, even before him, a prophet from Judah in Uzziah's time (p. 144 *note* 8) had added to it the words xvi. 1–6. The ancient prophet from the kingdom of the Ten Tribes was certainly also the author of the words Is. xxi. 11–14; which Isaiah merely augmented by adding vv. 15–17.

[6] Namely, Ps. xc. and the prophetic song Deut. xxxii. These passages have many great peculiarities, and nothing in them points to their composition in Judah, while they must still both have been written comparatively early. Ps. xc. is probably somewhat older than Deut. xxxii., concerning which see i. p. 124. That Deut. xxxii. 1 is later than Is. i. 2, and is modelled upon it, is obvious; but if Is. i. is to be assigned to the period described p. 176 *note* 1, the prophetic song Deut. xxxii. may very likely have been composed in the last three years before the destruction of Samaria.—The book of Job, also, has many peculiarities of diction, and may with good reason be placed in the eighth century; but in an important point like that alluded to p. 116 *note* 1, it adheres to the linguistic usage of the great writers of Judah; and the words xiv. 11*a* are evidently derived from Is. xix. 5. This great work may, therefore, have been composed soon after the publication by Isaiah of the piece which now forms chapter xix.

were in both kingdoms confined under an increasing pressure, were not without some advantages.

1. There was, in the first place, the development to its full extent of a unique species of composition, the *pure prophetic*, which soon occupied the most important position among the various kinds of literature. The older prophets, it is true, had certainly taken an active part in many ways in the reduction, for instance, of laws and histories to a written form. But the recording of purely prophetic utterances, ideas, and hopes, is a very remote branch of composition, and is not possible until general literature has attained a considerable facility of expression; and, again, it is only produced under the pressure of exceptional circumstances. These causes were now at hand. In the great prophets of these centuries was concentrated not only the most spiritual but also the strongest of the powers which directed the course of events; and when, in the contest with the power of the throne, as well as with the general development of religion, its sway over the present gradually declined, prophetism, in so many respects rejuvenated, turned with the greater ardour to the future, from which it hoped to receive the confirmation of those of its truths which were not recognised in the present. It was, on the one hand, the grand public activity of the prophets in the kingdom of their day, and, on the other, the appeal which was rendered necessary to a more extended publicity and to the decision of the future, which became the most powerful lever of pure prophetic composition; nor can the public state life of the Greeks and Romans have stimulated their popular orators to a more rich and stirring composition than was poured forth with heavenly clearness by the prophets through the medium of literature and art, under the impulse of the afflictions to which the spirit of Jahveh was subjected by the world. Prophetic composition had indeed been begun[1] in earlier ages; but its true glory and lasting significance were certainly not attained until the rejuvenescence and supreme development of prophetism itself.[2]

The origin of this branch of literature placed it accordingly in that happy mean between the experiences of a life devoted to the public welfare, and the ardent efforts for a better future, which alone, in the sphere of religion, can give birth to a pure and powerful influence. Without having laboured in public for a considerable time, and thus acquired a position of authority, no prophet at that time attempted to extend his influence by writing. The presence of this powerful restraint is readily per-

[1] P. 59. [2] P. 129 sqq.

ceived on a careful perusal of the words, as forcible as they are sound, of those prophets. But when he had sufficiently proved his prophetic character by word of mouth, and was impelled by some need of his age to extend his influence over a larger area and a longer period by writing, he collected in an orderly form the most lasting truths of his fugitive addresses, adding very likely much new matter which there had been little opportunity for treating orally with so much definiteness and detail, yet which ought not to be omitted from any composition claiming the attention of a wider circle as well as a more permanent existence, or even, here and there, matters referring to the immediate present, which pressed hard for admission. In such a work, accordingly, a definite survey was expected, of all the future and of the mode in which the darkness of the present would be dissipated; the composition itself invited the further prosecution of such free surveys beyond the manifold perplexities of the present. Almost every considerable work thus contained a survey of the general condition of the world, and the future destiny even of many foreign nations;[1] to take a truthful view of this kind belonged quite naturally to the religion of Jahveh: and besides, the more influential prophets were really often consulted[2] by ambassadors from foreign nations, or by native kings on matters of foreign policy, just as in later times some of the Greek oracles acquired a wide-spread fame. The design and beautiful execution of every prophetic composition rendered it a work of art in the best sense of the term; and it is scarcely possible to say how much noble art is to be found in the pure prophetic compositions of this period, when they are only properly understood and thoughtfully regarded. The fresh wants of his age may have impelled the same prophet to have recourse to writing a second or a third time; and so repeatedly to alter or enlarge his earlier work.[3]

It should be carefully noticed that this species of literary

[1] This custom begins with Amos i. sq., and appears quite developed in Isaiah, as well as later in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and even in so small a book as that of Zephaniah.

[2] See the cases of Elisha and Jonah, pp. 86, 93, 128. Allusions to this practice are found in Is. xxi. 11 sq., xviii. 2 sqq., xxx. 1 sqq., and instances in Is. xxxvii. 2 sqq., xxxix. 3 sqq., as well as from a later age in Jer. xxvii. 2 sqq.

[3] This is most clearly shown later on in the more perfectly preserved books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. But the same thing may be perceived from the fragments of Isaiah; among them we find—1) ii.–v., ix. 7–x. 4, portions of a very early work; from a subsequent one there have been preserved—2) vi.–ix. 6, xvii. 1–11; there followed—3) a work of which we now possess i., xiv. 28–xvi., xxi. 11–17, and which may have included the previous compositions; 4) from a subsequent one again we have xxii. (with xxiii. as appendix); 5) from one immediately after xxviii.–xxxii., xx.; 6) from another x. 5–xii. 6, xiv. 24–27, xvii. 12–xviii. (xxxiii.); until, 7) xix. must have been written later still.

composition, with its style vibrating between poetry and prose, had advanced as early as Joel to a high degree of cultivation and perfection; although this prophet[1] appeared about a century and a half before Isaiah, and belongs[2] to the earlier period of prophecy. Moreover, Joel was certainly not the first prophet distinguished for such composition, but he was in early times the highest model of it, so that his successors all followed his elevated precedent, in the beauty of his expression absolutely, and in his ideas to a very large extent. Next in order comes Amos, who wrote in homely but expressive language the little book, the whole of which has been preserved to us. He was followed by Hosea; the most profoundly melancholy, and at the same time the most creative of all the prophets, whose present book we can scarcely suppose to contain all the compositions of his troubled life. Further, at the time of Isaiah, and not wholly independent of his spirit, appears the prophet, unknown to us by name, strangely obscure in language, whose utterances are to be read at the close of the present book of Zechariah.[3] All these are surpassed alike in prophetic activity and in literary manysidedness, art, and power, by the sublime Isaiah, of whose works a tolerably large series of pieces of the most varied description has been preserved; next to him, finally, is ranged in the ranks of prophetic authorship the homely Micah, whose little book has come down to us perfect. Yet all these prophet-writers were only a few out of a much larger number, of whose compositions nothing has been preserved but a few widely scattered and hardly recognisable fragments.[4]

2. Nor do these decades witness any decline from the previous century in the stream of songs. They are as powerful, their vigour and freshness almost as inexhaustible, as ever; and even princes like Hezekiah still held it compatible with their dignity to enjoy, like David, the delight and honour of poetic composition. Essentially, however, song, like every other kind of poetry, is more and more devoted to interpreting freely the prophetic thoughts which at this time exercised so powerful a sway over everything. There are no songs which take a deeper hold, none which spring from a profounder beauty of spirit, than those which burst from the glorious prophets in the midst of the terrible struggles of their life, and in which their souls, bowed by the resistance of the world, regain their

[1] P. 138 sq. [2] P. 128. [3] P. 132. in the *Propheten des A. B.* i. [i. p. 69 sq.
[4] For this see, for instance, p. 144 *note* 8; 2nd ed.; i. p. 86 sq. Trans.]
the whole subject is discussed more fully

strength in their God alone.[1] Inspired by this prophetic spirit, even the song of those who were not prophets receives a new vitality.[2] And when, during this period, the joy of the whole nation or their jubilee in victory is glorified in song, then also it is upborne by the lofty truths which, issuing from the lips of the great prophets, were now endeavouring more and more to penetrate the whole people.[3]

Side by side with this ran the continual advance of the art of poetry proper; which shows itself in the most varied forms. In many songs and other pieces, poetic expression now becomes, apparently with artistic design, more impassioned and picturesque; it ventures oftener on strange and surprising effects.[4] It would seem as though an extraordinary variety of ancient and much-admired poems had ever floated before the mind of these composers; so that they were led to place their art in new modes of portrayal, and in the excitement of surprise by unusual strophes. In fact, there are numerous signs which warrant the conclusion that there had long existed an eagerness for the careful collection of the ancient productions of poetic art. If king Hezekiah had a fresh collection made by competent persons of the Solomonic proverbs,[5] it is likely that several collections would have been already made of the most beautiful songs, a branch of literature for the most part much older. Moreover, the Sépher Hajjashar was probably compiled, as has been observed,[6] under Solomon; and there are clear traces of other collections of Solomon's time;[7] and Hezekiah is therefore still less likely to have been behindhand in gathering together the finest songs.[8] The age may have been satiated with the repeated collection and perusal of these ancient songs; and this would account for the new style of artistic expression of which many poets were now fond. Another novelty was the charm of a burden recurring in each stanza (strophe), an artificial method of construction which is now exhibited for the first time by many songs, as well as by some prophetic compositions;[9] and which in later songs became still more popular.

The poetic proverb, the Solomonic origin of which has been already explained,[10] becomes in a like manner more quaint and

[1] Pss. lxii., xxxix. similarly, Pss. lvi., lvii.

[2] Cf. Ps. xii., and supra, p. 147 *note* 3.

[3] Pss. xlvi., xlviii., lxv., lxxv. sq.

[4] Striking examples are afforded by Ps. xlv., supra, p. 124 *note* 1, and the beautiful thanksgiving song of Hezekiah, Is. xxxviii.

[5] P. 173.

[6] Vol. iii p. 282.

[7] Ibid. p. 281 sq.

[8] Within the first collection in the present book of Psalms, i.–xli., Pss. vi., xiii., xv., xx., xxi., xxiii., xxvii., xxx., xli., may be out of a collection made by Hezekiah's directions.

[9] Pss. xlv., xlvi., Amos i., ii., Is. ix. 7 [8]–x. 4.

[10] Vol. iii. p. 280 sq.

far-fetched in expression; in other respects, however, it breaks with growing sense of freedom through its ancient fetters, spreads out its idea through a long series of verses, and gradually changes into an engaging portrayal of good or bad morals.[1]

Nor was the highest species of poetry, the drama, allowed to rest after the commencement which has been already described,[2] as the brilliant example of the book of Job proves. This work, composed at the conclusion of this or the opening of the following period, states with the most dramatic effect one of the profoundest, and at that time one of the most novel of truths, in all its vitality; and hence reveals the highest capabilities of the poetic art of the ancient people. In actual representation the drama appears to have derived its materials partly from ancient history at great national festivals, partly also from humble life. Nothing, however, is harder than to exhibit the pure truths of an elevated religion in the drama, i.e. in the game of life, with dignity; and besides this, the ancient religion of Israel shrunk profoundly from every realistic attempt to represent the Divine in visible shape, and consequently from the living personification and exhibition of it in the drama. In all other utterances, however, just as much as in poetry or even in prophetic portrayal, the aspiring spirit was now casting off its ancient fetters, and learning with the greatest freedom to trace out striking pictures of everything Divine. And thus the poet of the book of Job ventures to design a divine-human drama, not to be actually performed, and seen by the sensible eye, but to be witnessed by the eye of the mind only, and represented in the imagination: and the spirit of the true religion enables him to execute this utmost venture of human fancy with such life, and at the same time such dignity, that it supplies us also with an eternal model. But just as Plato would never have written his dramatic dialogues had he not been first a dramatic poet, so a poem like Job could never have been produced in Israel, had there not long before been successful efforts for the composition and performance of the real drama.

3. The art of historical composition was also strongly affected by the two great powers which, as has been explained, became predominant in speech and literature, namely, the growing freedom with which the poetic art was developed, and the elevation of the noblest prophetic truths. Its province was certainly divided with increasing distinctness into that of primitive times, and that of the immediately preceding centuries; and it was further and further removed from the spirit of antiquity.

[1] Cf. further the *Dichter des A. B.* iv. p. 31 sqq.

[2] P. 42 sq.

But whichever it is engaged in describing, it acts more and more as the interpreter of the same prophetic truths, and by this means renews in the most striking way the recollection of ages long gone by. But the power which had marked the development of art along with that of the general national life, impels it to describe the Divine element in the history with a freedom and variety, but at the same time with a prevailing tenderness and moderation, the union of which was wholly impossible in earlier historical works; and it is especially in this combination of freedom, purity, and sublimity, that the compositions of this era are permanent models of narratives treated in a similar free style. But this subject has been already discussed at length in the first volume of this history.

Of works about nature no trace is any longer to be found in this period. The spirit of wisdom and investigation, which had been so powerfully excited in earlier ages, desired certainly a more and more complete and consistent apprehension of everything, even those things which did not stand in close connexion with religion. What deeper questions it gradually raised about all natural objects, is shown pre-eminently in the book of Job: even the growing predilection for explaining the meaning and origin of the names of ancient persons and places[1] bears witness to the first powerful impulse of scientific efforts. But the destinies of the nation proved too unpropitious for the further independent prosecution of such beginnings; literature, like the general life of the people, came to revolve more and more closely round the nature and history of the true religion. In this one direction, however, the spirit which had been awakened in Israel made at this very time the highest exertions, and achieved the most lasting success, while its previous earthly supports shook more and more violently. In later ages it was not till the period of the decay of the national power of the Greeks that their higher spirit, after its long course of activity, attempted and executed its most immortal works; and in the same way the divine spirit in Israel struggled to consummate its work with a freedom and a boldness corresponding to its growing feeling of the irreparable decline of its earthly energies. For all the victories which the ancient popular power could still attain, and even the last great elevation of the surviving kingdom of Judah, soon proved too weak to provide a permanent remedy for the deeper offences of antiquity which now appeared in such overpowering luxuriance.

[1] Vol. i. p. 20.

SECTION III.

THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH TILL ITS FALL.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND POWER OF THE MESSIANIC HOPE.

THE southern kingdom had held its ground through the violent storms of the preceding age; it had even risen afresh, after the fall of the northern, to a more effective comprehension of the higher religion and to new power abroad. A marvellous elevation of spirit, such as had been spontaneously produced in the course of the extraordinary events under Hezekiah, marks all its efforts and aspirations, and breathes through all those poetic and prophetic utterances of the concluding decades, which discuss the general relations of the kingdom: and on the other hand, in the decline of the monarchy there was displayed the fresh energy and the unbounded and cheerful outlook with which, in the first days of its existence under Moses and Joshua, the young community had gazed into its future.

In that age, however, the soaring hopes of the youthful community had only looked for the perpetuity of the pure Theocracy; so now the noblest expectation could not help being directed to the coming of the true human king through whom the Theocracy would be consummated, and thus the development of all Messianic hopes was necessarily carried an important step in advance. It was only reasonable to conclude that if the community was ever to witness the fulfilment of what had been in ancient days its inmost hope,[1] and to approach the consummation of the true religion and its own felicity, some one individual must first live the perfect and blessed life and thus become the leader and king of the kingdom of God, the consummation of which was at length to take place; otherwise this perfecting of the community could never be effected at all. And further, it was for the most part in Judah only that these hopes had their living spring,[2] and in Judah the continuous existence and development of the true community had long been inseparably linked with the house of David;[3] and hence it was natural to look to that house and that alone to produce the perfect king. Nevertheless it was not till during the last fifty years that this truth was vigorously apprehended. It re-

[1] P. 60 sq. [2] Ibid. [3] Vol. iii. p. 201 sq.; supra, p. 10 sqq.

quired the genius of Isaiah, himself of royal kind, to recognise for the first time the real character and the certain coming of the true and perfect king. The picture of the perfect king (Messiah) of the kingdom of God, which formed the principal subject of this circle of expectations, and hence conferred on them their lasting name, was conceived by him with all the nobleness of his royal spirit, and depicted with wonderful truth with all the glow of his clear soul; and when he had led the way he was followed by other and similar prophets. The ancient community of Jahveh in both kingdoms had long ago passed through every kind of misery which bad monarchy could cause, and not one, even of the better princes, had ever brought about the consummation of the kingdom of God, the sole and final aim of all the hopes and endeavours of the age; but this only increased the fervour and truth with which the conception shaped itself in the mind of the great prophet of what the king must be, who, as the consummator of the kingdom of God, was to fulfil every hope and satisfy every yearning. This brilliant type of blessed expectation he constantly held up alike before the oppressed and despairing, and before the degenerate potentates of Israel; but he clung to it with if possible still greater purity, and proclaimed it with still greater enthusiasm, when Sennacherib threatened[1] the kingdom of Jahveh with sheer destruction.[2] At this crisis the eternal and glorified expectation of the kingdom of God was for the first time placed in antagonism to all heathen dominion by violence; and nothing is more marvellous than the undaunted attitude of Isaiah in encountering the fury of the dreaded king of kings with the calmness of this blessed hope.

The just conception of this perfect king, and the firm anticipation of his necessary coming, really constitute the greatest creative work of Isaiah. This thought, once uttered by him in all its force and clearness, could never disappear; from this time forward, it replaced all the vaguer hopes of former times, and became the inmost impulse of the whole subsequent history; and if it ever flagged, it always revived to quicken everything with the greater power, until it reached the highest stage which was possible to it in the course of national development. The material centre of Israel's history, the summit of its political power, was reached with Solomon; but the spiritual centre, or germination of a new thought, which, in spite of the decline of material power, called forth with creative force the very

[1] P. 178 sqq. [2] Is. xi. comp. with vii.–ix. 6 [7], xxxii.

highest consummation in the future, was supplied for the first time and imperishably by the lofty soul and utterances of Isaiah. The necessity and certainty of a future consummation of the kingdom of God had certainly been expressed[1] by the greatest prophets before Isaiah; and it could not fail to be recognised as soon as everything great which had been attained in the community from the time of Moses to David and Solomon was seriously endangered in the confusion of a later day; for the inner soul rose up against the possibility of all this being destined to perish, and pressed, consequently, with more or less clearness, for its perfection. How this consummation was to be effected still remained, however, very indeterminate; and the feeling of a vague necessity remained wholly obscure, and was consequently liable to be destroyed, so long as no definite way was opened for this inner necessity to pass into realisation. By the side of this, it is true, the centuries of the division and decline of the monarchy were at an early period penetrated, as has been observed, with the anticipation that the house of David could not remain for ever thus depressed, but in the consummation of the kingdom of God would rise again to loftier splendour;[2] such was the subsequent effect of the recollection of David's greatness. But Isaiah was the first to point out the way in which alone these confused anticipations could be fulfilled.[3] There must come one who should perfectly satisfy all the demands of the true religion, so as to become the centre from which all its truth and force should operate. His soul must possess a marvellous and surpassing nobleness and divine power, because it is his function perfectly to realise in life the ancient religion, the requirements of which no one had yet satisfied, and that, too, with that spiritual glorification which the great prophets had announced. Unless there first comes one who does thus completely satisfy its highest claims, the religion itself will never be perfected, and its kingdom will never come. But he must and will come, for otherwise the religion which demands him would be false; he is the first true king of the community of the true God, and as nothing can be conceived of as supplanting him, he will reign for ever in irresistible power; he is

[1] Pp. 60, 139.

[2] The earliest writer to mention this belief is the older narrator of the history of the kings, 1 Kings xi. 39; cf. 2 Sam. vii. 11–16. Next follow Amos ix. 11 and Hosea, who, indeed, laconically calls the Messiah who is to be hoped for, David, Hos. iii. 5; with allusion, however, to the family of David, which continued in Judah, as is clear from Hos. i. 7, and 1 Kings xii. 16.

[3] That the passage about Shiloh, Gen. xlix. 10, does not refer to this, needs now no lengthy proof. The expression about the seed of the woman, Gen. iii. 15, falls shortly before Isaiah's time; but it contains only a general Messianic hope, and not a reference to an individual Messiah.

the divine-human king, whose coming had been due ever since the true community had set up a human monarchy in its midst, but who had never come. He is to be looked for, to be longed for, to be prayed for; and how blessed is it simply to expect him devoutly, and trace out every feature of his likeness! To sketch the nobleness of his soul is to pursue in detail the possibility of perfecting all religion; and to believe in the necessity of his coming is to believe in the perfecting of all divine agency on earth. Before the lightning flash of this truth in Isaiah's soul, every lower foreboding and hope retreated. The nature of the Messiah, and the certainty of his coming, are now the main subjects of all anticipation; and if Isaiah still follows ancient usage and speaks of David's house as a foundation of sacred hope,[1] yet his soul is filled with nothing but the picture of the spiritual glory of the Messiah, by the side of which all outward things sink into indifference; his strongest feelings are his certainty and his clear and brilliant ideal, and it is to these that he endeavours with all his power to direct the faith of his hearers.

The advent of this Messiah cannot indeed be brought about by violence. But it would be very erroneous to suppose that Isaiah only imagined it possible after the lapse of centuries. On the other hand, it naturally follows, and is confirmed by express testimony,[2] that the perception of such a necessary consummation, as confident as it was clear, involved the most powerful impulse towards it. But such a matter as this cannot seriously depend upon a chronological calculation of the future; and if experience shows that the hope of the final consummation could not be fulfilled as soon as the inspired longing desired, yet it remains essentially true and necessarily indestructible, and readily rises to fresh power in every unpropitious age. If, however, the hope is really active, and is not content to remain idle, it must not only believe in a certain

[1] Is. xi. 1, comp. with ix. 6 [7], xxxvii. 35, as well as with xxix. 1. Micah, as a country prophet, limits the origin of the Messiah still more consistently to the Davidic Bethlehem, Mic. iv. 8, v. 1 [2] sqq. See further remarks in the *Propheten des A. B.* i. p. 336 sqq [i. 514 sqq. 2nd ed.; ii. 309 sqq. Trans.]

[2] In passages like Is. vii. 14 sqq., xxxvii. 30–32, the prophetic spirit attempts to conceive the course of Messianic development as fulfilled in the ensuing years, an attempt which was subsequently repeated by almost every prophet; and Jeremiah, who extends this period the furthest into the future, still does not think of it as reaching over more than a century. This struggle of the spirit after a nearer survey of the future arises solely from the fervour of the belief itself; hence the pure truth and substance of the belief are not affected by the fact that its fulfilment did not take place so soon as the believers expected. But to assert that the prophets conceived the fulfilment as separated from their own age by a wide gap of centuries, would be to mistake and misrepresent all the facts. In this respect, however, the firmest anticipation is to be found in Mic. vii. 11.

and almost instant fulfilment, it must immediately impel the soul to strive after so much of it at any rate as is attainable; nay, the belief itself constitutes this powerful effort, inasmuch as the Messiah can only be conceived as consummating everything human. The ages subsequent to Isaiah are therefore already Messianic, i.e. Christian, at any rate in aspiration, in the true direction once given to their efforts, in the impulse, that is, to approach nearer and nearer to the clear image of perfection set before them. The very first appearance of this hope, transfigured by Isaiah's spirit, was thus accompanied by the impulse to fulfil it; and the most powerful claim was established on the reigning kings and their successors to resemble, at any rate so far as possible, the Messianic type, and therefore to execute such real improvements as had become necessary to the higher religion, advancing with the times.[1] In fact, the whole reign of Hezekiah had been an attempt to follow faithfully the lead of the higher religion, and carry out all the improvements in the kingdom demanded by it. After his death there was no choice between making higher efforts in the same direction, and entering on a wholly different and retrograde movement. It would inevitably be made clearer than ever before, how far the supreme task of Israel was or was not capable of being achieved with the line of the Davidic kingdom and the previous course of national development.

The growing power, however, of the impulse for the perfection of the kingdom, and the vigorous correction of the evils that had crept in, were met by a proportionately strong resistance. Two different tendencies had for a long time, in fact since the division of the Davidic kingdom,[2] prevailed in Judah. Now that the internal progress of ancient prophecy and religion and the glorification of the Messianic hope had given a greater impetus to one than the other, it is not surprising that the old antagonism against the better aspiration should break out after sixty years with a violence unknown before, and should make the utmost exertions to frustrate any reformation of the kingdom on a large scale, the necessity of which had become more and more perceptible. The course of years had witnessed a vast development of the dogmas, oracles, and arts of the heathen religions, and they had acquired a charm which had hitherto been little known, especially in the more serious and retired Judah; and the increasing allurements of the heathen

[1] Cf., for instance, how the Messianic description, Is. xxxii. 1–8, concludes with glancing at the perversities of the world at the time; and the same is fundamentally true of Ps. lxxii.

[2] P. 15 sq.

civilisation of numerous nations operated the more powerfully to prevent the cessation of its contest and rivalry with the stricter Jahveism. The decline of heathenism in those countries does not begin till later; at that time it was still flourishing, and was capable of entering into a real contest with Jahveism, even as it was developed in Judah. In the end, certainly, the truth of Jahveism breaks forth with renewed power; and with it, the movement for the reformation of the kingdom bursts through the long and violent resistance with a violence that is still greater. But every process of national reformation requires, in order to be successfully carried through, a peculiar method of execution, and, further, a sound body politic to be the support of the state in all its forms. The question consequently arises whether the proper method was employed; and whether the nation had held itself free enough from offences of the worst kind, or whether it had already suffered too much from deeply-rooted perversities, to be able in the storm of the times to endure the blast of a great internal revolution for reform. The course of events shows that the latter was the case, and that the kingdom broke up because it had taken upon itself o effect a great internal reformation. Yet in the midst of its constant decline, the lessons of this period of one hundred and twelve years become more and more instructive, and its three stages must now be examined more closely. That none of the successive kings 'on David's throne' within this period turned out the Messiah of Isaiah, was made evident, indeed, at once; yet these last years of the Davidic kingdom proved of the highest importance for the further development of that gigantic problem, the solution of which was imposed on the ancient people.

As only one kingdom now remained, its chronology is deprived of the advantage of a comparison with that of the other;[1] but no reason has yet been discovered for doubting the correctness of the length assigned for the reign of each king.[2]

[1] Cf. p. 20 sq.

[2] Only where Amon is mentioned, 2 Kings xxi. 19, the LXX. according to Cod. Alex., make his reign twelve years instead of two, and two would more easily arise out of twelve than the reverse, so that one is tempted to prefer this reading; yet, so far as we can now see, it would be highly arbitrary. The learned chronologist Demetrius reckoned one hundred and twenty eight years and a half: in this computation Amon's reign must have been taken at twelve years. Cf. *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* ix. p. 232.

A. THE AGE OF VIOLENT RETROGRESSION.

I. KING MANASSEH AND HIS SON.

Manasseh was the son of Hezekiah,[1] and succeeded at twelve years old to the throne, on which he maintained himself till his death, after a period of fifty-five years. No other sovereign of Judah ever reigned so long, yet the present historical books relate but little of him. They pass with equal haste over the twenty-two years' reign of his son Amon,[2] who resembled him in disposition, and about the early years of the reign of Amon's son Josiah, who mounted the throne a minor at the age of eight years, they are completely silent. We now come to another long period in which the bright light of the ancient community is obscured, and terrible errors impede each step of the advance of the nation towards reform: and these gloomy times the historical books of the Old Testament always pass over rapidly. We should consequently possess but few sources for a closer knowledge of these sixty years and more, were it not for writings of this period scattered elsewhere in the Old Testament, which only need to be correctly recognised to be estimated at their true historical significance,[3] and for important information on the general condition during these years which comes to our aid from other quarters outside the Old Testament.

Manasseh returned to the practices and gods of his grandfather Ahaz. At the time of Hezekiah's death the kingdom had recovered its power and prosperity, and again offered every temptation to careless luxurious living; and between the reigns of the grandfather and grandson not more than twenty-nine years had elapsed, so that there might be many still alive who had formerly indulged under Ahaz the baser tendencies of Israel-

[1] Later scholars, as we see already from Jos. *Ant.* x. 2. 1, imagined that he was Hezekiah's only son, and had, therefore, been born late, and that the fear of death expressed in Hezekiah's song, Is. xxxviii., arose chiefly from the fact that at that time he had not yet a son. Such fancies are expressly contradicted by words like those in Is. xxxviii. 19 (according to which Hezekiah had then sons already) and xxxix. 7. It was not always the case in Judah, as we have observed elsewhere (p. 11 *note* 1), that the king was succeeded by his first-born son.—On the history of Manasseh see what is related, evidently from an apocryphal book, in 2 Bar. lxiii. lxiv.

[2] For this the LXX read 'Αμώς in the book of Kings but not in the Chronicles, hence Josephus has 'Αμωσός. The name has certainly a very Egyptian sound.

[3] Besides Deuteronomy proper, the passages in the book of Isaiah, lii. 13–liii. 12, lvi. 8–lvii. 13, and probably also xl. 1 sq., which have been woven by the great unnamed prophet into his work, are by prophets who could only have used such language under Manasseh. To these pieces must be attached Mic. vi. sq. (cf. the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* xi. p. 22), and later Zephaniah and Jeremiah ii. 3–6. To this period there further belong, in all probability, the fragment of a song inserted in Ps. x. 1–11, Pss. cxl.–cxlii., and probably some other songs similar in spirit; some of which are specially named below.

itish life. Some of the aristocracy who had been most powerful at the court of Ahaz seem to have taken possession of their youthful sovereign on the death of the good Hezekiah, and thus early and permanently corrupted his mind. But the age had already made such advance that the party which now came into power, partly from inclination, partly under compulsion, far outstripped the attempts made under Ahaz.

Manasseh restored all the different kinds of heathen sacrifices and customs which had been in use under Ahaz. As Hezekiah, however, had in the meantime attempted, at any rate, to extirpate them, Manasseh not only set up again the images and altars which had been demolished, but he carried his opposition a great deal farther. He endeavoured to become acquainted with all manner of heathen religions, and to introduce them into Judah. For this purpose he sent into the most distant lands where there was any famous cultus, and grudged no pains for his one object.[1] Every new religion, which was still vigorous and in repute, brought with it not only a new kind of oracle, or of sensual allurement and passion, but also its peculiar wisdom; and the aspiration after wisdom had undergone so powerful a development since the age of Solomon [2] that it is not surprising that the ardent desire should have been awakened to possess the secrets of all religions, and thus acquire a wealth of knowledge which the simplicity and earnestness of the Jahveh-religion appeared incapable of affording. Manasseh's next step was to attempt to make the heathen religions more and more accessible and acceptable to the whole nation. He accordingly not only restored the little altars erected by Ahaz on the roof of the temple for the Babylonian star-worship,[3] but also proceeded to construct larger altars in the two forecourts of the temple for the same cultus;[4] obviously with the intention that these latter should be available for the whole people to use at pleasure. From the time of Manasseh onwards, in fact, this Zarathustrian-Babylonian star-worship sank so deep into the nation that for a century after there were numbers who could not be induced to discontinue it, and the later prophets are never weary of denouncing it.[5] For the Phœnician Astarte he provided a model cultus in the temple itself. A statue to the goddess was erected; and close by were several small houses, where

[1] Is. lvii. 5–10, Jer. ii. 10–13, 23–28.
[2] P. 115 sqq. [3] P. 169.
[4] 2 Kings xxi. 4 sq., xxiii. 12; cf. Jer. vii. 30.
[5] Cf. remarks on Job xxxi. 26; further, Zeph. i. 5, Jer. vii. 18, viii. 2, xix. 13, xxxii. 29, Is. lxv. 3. The worship of the queen of heaven, which was already old in Jeremiah's time, Jer. xliv. 17, can scarcely have prevailed so generally before Manasseh's time, and have sunk so deeply into the whole nation.

the unchaste priestesses wove sacred garments for similar images among the people.[1] Such desecration of the temple itself had never been ventured on by any sovereign before, devoted as many of them had been to the worship of Astarte.[2] The Moloch-sacrifice which had been privately introduced by Ahaz, who had devoted to it one of his own sons, was revived on a larger scale by Manasseh. He built for it a magnificent burning-place (*Tophet*) in the valley of Hinnom on the southern wall of Jerusalem, and promoted the spread of these barbarous and dreadful rites;[3] the abomination and the agony of the fiery tortures to which children were here subjected, soon became so horrible to the pious that hell itself received its name *Ge-hinnom* from this valley.[4] There are even some indications that Manasseh went so far as to remove the altar from the forecourt of the temple, and the ark from the Holy of Holies.[5]

The higher religion had, however, received too powerful an upward impulse under Hezekiah for Manasseh to be able to secure the predominance of a tendency in exactly the contrary direction without having recourse to means of constantly increasing violence. Never before had the antagonistic elements in the kingdom of Judah been brought into such severe collision. There was a king who at the best tolerated the worship of Jahveh, as he would any other religion, but by his own action turned Judah into a regular rendezvous of heathen religions, and violently compelled his subjects to practise them; and this in a state the ancient religion of which could not lawfully tolerate any other by its side, and in an age when this religion itself had just arisen with fresh vigour, and was holding out before the sovereign the clear picture of the perfect ruler who was to come! That it was the duty of the monarchy in Israel,

[1] 2 Kings xxi. 3, 7, xxiii. 7; in the last passage, instead of בָּתִּים we should read בְּנָדִים, Jer. vii. 30; cf. Mic. vi. 16.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 297; supra, p. 49.

[3] With 2 Kings xvi. 3, xxi. 6, xxiii. 10, should be compared the descriptions in Jer. vii. 31 sqq., xix. 5 sqq., Ezek. xxiii. 37; and to this must be added that the use of the word *Tophet* in this special meaning was not yet customary in Isaiah's time, as is clear from Is. xxx. 33. Everything points to the conclusion that it was Manasseh who first built Tophet.

[4] We certainly do not find the name now till the New Testament (or rather, strictly speaking, in the collection of Proverbs and in James iii. 6), in the fourth book of Ezra, and still later writings; but that is accidental. There must have been some much-read work in which the name was thus used for the first time, and we can only regret its loss. The abbreviation Γεεννά is not found in any Eastern language.

[5] That he removed the altar, as Ahaz had on some accounts wished to do (p. 171), follows from 2 Chron. xxxiii. 16; that he destroyed the ark, which no one ventured afterwards to restore when later ages returned to the true religion, may be concluded with probability from Jer. iii. 16, from which it appears that in Jeremiah's time it was painfully missed. The words of Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxv. 3 (where, besides, נָתַנוּ should be read, according to the LXX, for תְּנוּ), rest on too free a representation to afford adequate proof to the contrary.

no less than of the priesthood and the prophetic order, to maintain erect the true religion, which now added antiquity to its claims on the reverence of men, and to live and move in it alone, had been assumed as a matter of course from its very foundation. Its gradual toleration, here and there at least, of other religions in the sacred land, was a symptom not unattended with danger; but when in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes it attempted to supplant the true religion by heathenism, the ancient faith rose up in resistance with all its might, and availed itself of Elijah's fiery zeal and Jehu's sword with such effect that none of the princes of the northern kingdom ever ventured afterwards to dislodge it openly. Even in Judah, in spite of all his partiality for heathenism, Ahaz was willing to leave the true religion in outward honour.[1] And now in this very Judah, the only state still erect which it could claim as its own, the most open animosity is displayed against the objects of its greatest sanctity by the king himself, and that, too, in a kingdom which had learned, wholly unlike the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, to reverence the royal power, and never to encounter it with wild revolt!

There were of course very many who bowed beneath the iron rod with which Manasseh ruled. The atmosphere of the age was poisoned from above; and the leaders of the people of every class, whose moral decline had already become a subject of lament in the preceding century, sank into an almost incredible degeneracy. The prophets, who ought ever to have been the most loyal guardians of the truth, were for the most part like dumb and greedy dogs;[2] many of the priests allowed themselves to be seduced into offering heathen sacrifices;[3] the judges and nobles paid little heed to the eternal right.[4] Equivocation and hypocrisy spread amongst those who ought to have ministered most austerely to public truthfulness of life:[5] while those who were engaged in commerce and trade sank into the hardest indifference to every higher aim, and thought only of the acquisition and enjoyment of wealth.[6] So terrible was the demoralisation which set in under this reign, that those who remained faithful to the ancient religion were either scoffed at as fools,[7] or allowed to perish in cold contempt without any effort being made to save them,[8] and were even derided after their death.[9]

[1] P. 171.

[2] Cf. the picture in Is. lvi. 9–12 with similar descriptions in Zeph. iii. 4, Jer. ii. 26 sq., v. 13 sq., xxxi. 6, 13 sqq.

[3] Zeph. and Jer. ibid.

[4] Prov. xxiv. 11, Zeph. i. 8 sq., iii. 1–3, Jer. v. 26 sqq., Ps. lv. 10–16 [9–15], xxxv. 11 sqq.

[5] Zeph. i. 5, Mic. vii. 1–6.

[6] Zeph. i. 10–13, 18.

[7] Is. lvii. 4, Ps. xxxv. 16–25.

[8] Mic. vii. 2, Is. lvii. 1 sq.

[9] Is. liii. 9.

All the pious and faithful confessors of Jahveh who formed the best and most conscientious portion of the nation, found themselves involved by the majority of their fellow-countrymen in an interminable struggle; carried on at one time by secret wiles, at another by open violence, it poisoned all the relations of life, extended itself through city and country, and in the long run inevitably became more and more disadvantageous to the helpless faithful, who often preferred endurance to revenge.[1] When such a condition as this began to acquire permanence, even the better minds might despond and despair altogether, and even seriously doubt what they were to think of Jahveh's justice.[2] So severe a blow had never been inflicted in Judah on the inmost heart of the ancient religion as the present. Since the victorious days of Moses and Joshua it had been the growing belief of Israel that loyal perseverance in the true religion would bring with it security and a prosperous life for children, and children's children. Although it had sometimes wavered, this trust had always regained its strength, and seemed at last to have received marvellous confirmation under Hezekiah. And now, so soon after, it is shaken to its deepest roots, and the shock comes in the only existing kingdom of Jahveh, and from the king and the great ones of the realm!

Yet if there were many who were ill able to withstand this trial, severer than any since the days of Egypt, there were some who passed through it all and came out unspotted, and in the midst of outward ruin offered brilliant examples of divine victory. Manasseh, says our present book of Kings with great brevity, shed very much innocent blood; so that he filled Jerusalem with it from one end to the other.[3] It is involved in the nature of the case, and is plentifully confirmed by ancient testimony, that it was the faithful prophets and judges especially whose blood was shed in the frenzy of unsparing persecution as though by the sword of some mysterious divine wrath.[4] But we still possess a divine description[5] which enables

[1] Ps. x. 1–11, cxl.–cxlii., lv., xvii., and many similar ones. Prov. i. 11–19, ii. 12–15, iv. 14–17, xxiv. 15, 21 sq.

[2] Job, Ps. x. 1; cf. lxxiii. 1–14. Further, Prov. iii. 31, xxiii. 17, xxiv. 1, 19, Ps. xxxvii. 1 sqq.

[3] 2 Kings xxi. 16, xxiv. 3 sq. According to a story of the later Jews, Manasseh had Isaiah cruelly executed in his extreme old age by being sawn asunder; but even if there should be an allusion to this in Hebr. xi. 37, at any rate Josephus says nothing about it. So far as we can see at present, all later statements about it rest upon the apocryphal works on the Martyr-death and Ascension of Isaiah, which have been made known in modern times from ancient versions chiefly by Lawrence and Gieseler. The work makes use of no ancient authorities, yet the question may fairly be asked, whence the author derived such names as those in ii. 5.

[4] Jer. ii. 30, Ps. cxli. 6. The last passage seems to show that several nobles of the party of the true believers attempted a resistance, but came to a dreadful end.

[5] The description appears in Is. liii., worked up in its present form by some

us to perceive how the steadfast death of one innocent martyr soon imparted to hundreds the power of overcoming their own fear and following his example. All the young men of deeper feeling soon made it a point of conscience to encounter the dangers attending the service and confession of Jahveh rather than yield to the allurements of the ruling power. They preferred listening to the rough words of exhortation and chastisement uttered by the mature confessors of Jahveh, to enjoying the dainties of light-minded potentates.[1] The songs of this age contain the utterance of its mingled feelings; on the one hand the heart of the faithful, deeply bowed beneath the burden of its afflictions, sighs grievously to heaven, and seeks its only relief in prayers for help; and on the other, there rises with growing freedom and boldness the confidence of purer faith, grandly developed in the midst of suffering; a faith which in the book of Job unites with the profoundest art to set forth nobly the higher truth. No literary composition, however, can have expressed more deeply and truly the feelings which agitated the heart of the pious in these times, than the crown of all extant prophetic utterances; which was originally occasioned, there is every reason to believe, by this long period of suffering.[2]

This age of suffering, therefore, under Manasseh produced results wholly different from those of that age of blood in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes which had witnessed the struggle of Elijah against Ahab. There the prophets triumphed, but the new truth which finally germinated there was alien to their own genius.[3] Here they succumbed without ever again acquiring a position of importance in the kingdom; but the truths which their speech and their silence, their life and their death alike proclaimed, were victorious; and these truths were of eternal significance, and could never lose their force. It was here that that ennobled insight was attained into the meaning of human suffering and the justice of God, which the book of Job exhibits with a beauty that can never fade, and

later prophet, and applied to another purpose. The original meaning of it, however, obliges us to suppose that it was occasioned by the bloody death of a prophet in the time of Manasseh, and gives utterance to the feelings of the survivors, which were expressed upon the subsequent change of affairs for the better. The application of it made in the present prophetic book of Isaiah lii. 13 sq., lays hold simply of the truth of the thought; the whole of Israel has in like manner suffered even to death, and must, if the will of God requires it, continue to suffer; but, in recompence therefor it is to be doubly glorified if the survivors attain the justification won for them by these sufferings.

[1] Ps. cxli. 3–7; for the correct explanation of these difficult words, see what is said in my work on the Psalms, 3rd ed.

[2] Namely, the piece already alluded to, which has been altered by a later prophet, and has now got inserted accidentally in the book of Isaiah lii. 13–liii., cf. xl. 1 sq.; this is probably connected with the brief reference Zech. xii. 10.

[3] P. 127 sqq.

which from that time sank with deeper and deeper power into all hearts in the community of Israel. And it was here that the soul learned at length from its inmost needs boldly to overcome all the terrors of death, and rise in freedom to the belief of its own divine indestructibility.[1] The force with which events taught in the sight of all men, even of the enemy, the lesson of the immortality of pure spirit, and its resurrection in ever nobler forms, in spite of all devices for its destruction, was only equalled by the power which the belief in that lesson alone possessed, of imparting true strength for steadfast suffering to those to whom escape was impossible from the poignant sting of this bitter time. And thus an entrance was effected into the circle of the ancient religion for truths which had never belonged to it from the time of its foundation, and which now supplied a deficiency to which it had from the first been subject.[2]

The numerous Israelites who were at that time obliged to live under heathen princes, not only the exiles from the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, but also many nations of Judah who were dispersed in foreign lands, may well have had to undergo similar sufferings and trials, if they desired to remain true to their religion; and there are indeed several songs which clearly favour this supposition.[3] Yet they could, at any rate, look to the kingdom of Judah as still in existence, and could hope to be able to renew their strength once more in the temple at Jerusalem; so that, in spite of their enforced separation from their fatherland, they were still happier than those who, living close to the ancient sanctuary, and in the midst of the community not yet defunct, were compelled to endure such horrors. It seems as though it were necessary that the most faithful of the citizens of the ancient kingdom should pass through so many and such bitter trials before its dissolution, in order that at the proper time the highest truths might spring up which were capable of development in the ancient community, and without having attained which the protecting wall of a popular native monarchy could not easily have been torn down from the community itself.

[1] Book of Job, Pss. xvi., xlix., lxxiii. That the book of Job teaches the doctrine of immortality was proved by Ephorus Köstlin in his work entitled *de Immortalitatis spe quae in libro Jobi apparere dicitur*, Tub. 1846. I have discussed the question further in my work on the book of Job (last ed.), in the *Tübing. theolog. Jahrbb.* 1843, and in many passages of the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.*

[2] See ii. p. 133 sqq.

[3] Especially Pss. xvi., xxii.; and perhaps somewhat earlier Pss. xxxvi., xxxvii., lxi., lxiii.

II. Fresh Commencement of the Dissolution of the Kingdom. New Settlement in Samaria.

1. After its rise in fresh power under Hezekiah, the kingdom must have been again materially weakened by the internal distractions already described. It lost the very essence of tranquil prosperity at home, as well as of successful resistance abroad. This is at once obvious, and is confirmed by the few traces of the history of the period which we are still able to discover. It is not without reason that Jeremiah, who lived in the next generation, traces the impossibility of reducing to order the disorders under the mischievous burden of which his age was sighing, chiefly to the faults of Manasseh.[1] The evil consequences abroad showed themselves still more rapidly.

The adjoining countries, which had belonged to Judah from the time of Uzziah, or rather, in some cases, since that of Hezekiah—Philistia, Edom, Moab, and Ammon—appear again towards this period of sixty years in complete possession of their independence, and are more daring and insolent than ever in their behaviour;[2] and we may very reasonably suppose that their revolt from Judah took place in the early years of Manasseh's reign. Moreover, with the exception of a short period under Josiah, they remained independent till the destruction of Jerusalem. After Sennacherib's death the Assyrian power also gradually entered on renewed activity in the south-western countries, and before its final fall made another attempt under a somewhat more vigorous king to regain as far as possible in every direction its former authority. Though our information is extremely scanty about the last Assyrian kings, it still appears clear that a king named Axerdis conquered Egypt and several portions of lower, *i.e.*, maritime Syria.[3] This Axerdis is certainly the same as the Asaridis of the Canon of Ptolemy, and the Asarhaddon[4] of the Old Testament,[5] which is the best form of the name. If his invasion

[1] Jer. xv. 4, cf. ii. 30; the same view is taken by the last author of the book of Kings, 2 Kings xxiii. 26, xxiv. 3.

[2] Zeph. ii. 4–10; cf. Jer. xlvii. 1—xlix. 22, xxv. 20 sq.

[3] Abydenus in Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. p. 54.

[4] [Or Esarhaddon.]

[5] On comparing the very scanty and abrupt information which Eusebius, *Chron. Arm.* i. pp. 43, 53 sq., communicates from Alex. Polyhistor and Abydenus, with the Old Testament and Ptolemy's Canon, we arrive at the following result. Just as he was recovering his power towards the end of his reign, Sennacherib was murdered by two of his sons (Alex. Polyhistor specified one only, Ardumusan); he had, however, about a year before, despatched his son Asarhaddon (Asordani in Polyhistor) against the rebellious governor of Babylon named Elib (more correctly in the Canon Bilib, he remained in power four years). Asarhaddon, after taking possession of Babylon, marched against his brothers as parricides, drove them into the inaccessible

took place at the time of the Dodecarchy, or when the government of Egypt was completely shivered to pieces, he may easily have been able to maintain himself there for a considerable period. Of the strength of his rule in the sacred land we are able to adduce at least one important example.

2. This is the case of Samaria, *i.e.*, the territory of the former kingdom of the Ten Tribes enclosed in the narrow limits which were left to it after the northern and eastern provinces were torn away under Tiglath-Pileser; for it is with this meaning that the terms Samaria and the Samarians (Samaritans) are from that time generally used.[1] After the deportation of the greater number of their inhabitants by Shalmaneser,[2] these districts remained for many years in a condition of such desolation that they were overrun with wild beasts. In the meantime king Asarhaddon,[3] whom we suppose to be Asarhaddon II., having reduced afresh several refractory towns about twenty years after the death of Sennacherib, and wishing to inflict on their inhabitants the favourite punishment of his predecessors, transported large bodies of their heathen populations into these deserted regions. We still know the names of several of these cities, and they give us a clearer idea of the number of the revolts of cities subjugated by former kings of Assyria, which Asarhaddon had to put down. A great number of the settlers in Samaria, the former capital, appear to have come from the Babylonian city of Cuthah,[4] from which arose the name of

ravines of Ararat, himself mounted the Assyrian throne and reigned in Nineveh fifteen years (see the chronological survey at the end of this vol.). In the Canon he is called Aparanadi, perhaps erroneously for Asaranadi, Asaradani, and again Acherdon, or according to another reading Sacherdon, in Tobit i. 21 sq.; cf. above, p. 188. Under him Babylon was governed by Regebel and Mesesimordak as viceroys; the latter, however, soon allowed the province to fall away from his control. He was murdered by his son Adramel, who himself had to give way before his half-brother Axerdis. This Axerdis is the conqueror already mentioned. He governed Babylon for thirteen years, as the name Asaridin in the Canon appears to prove. The statement of Abydenus about the rise of this Asarhaddon is certainly in such close agreement with that about the son of Sennacherib, 2 Kings xix. 37, that it cannot fail to appear extremely probable that there has been some confusion between the two Asarhaddons. But to reduce them both to one person is too much opposed to the distinct statements which have come down to us. This, however, probably affords the explanation of the statement in Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* p. 44, where, by a similar error, the chronicler passes straight from the first Asarhaddon to the successor of the second; for the reigns of Sammuges and his brother, each lasting twenty-one years, would correspond, at any rate as far as time is concerned, with the twenty years of Saosduchin and the twenty-two of Kiniladan in the Canon.

[1] The oldest example we possess of this use of the word occurs in 2 Kings xvii. 29.

[2] P. 165.

[3] The name of the Assyrian king who repeopled Samaria is not given in 2 Kings xvii. 24; but it is distinctly said that it was Asarhaddon in Ezra iv. 2. The Masora always spells this name Esarhaddon; the name Ἀσβακαφάς in Ezr. Apocr. [1 Esdras] v. 69 certainly rests on an incorrect reading of the Hebrew; moreover, some of the MSS. have here *Nacherdan*, which is itself a corruption from Sacherdan (according to Tobit i. 21), just as that is in turn from Asardân (Sardân).

[4] According to Abulfida's *Geogr.* p. 305, 2 from below, it lay not far from Babylon,

Cutheans, often applied in derision to the Samaritans by the later Jews. Other settlers were sent from Babylon itself—a fact which proves that Babylon had then been for some time independent of Nineveh, and doubtless had only with great difficulty been again subjugated. The neighbouring city of Cuthah had evidently taken the side of Babylon in the struggle, and now suffered with it. Many of those, however, who were forced to settle in the cities of Samaria belonged to tribes in the remote east.[1] This warrants the conclusion which a little illuminates the obscurity of this period, that the reigning king of Assyria made an attempt, which was not wholly in vain, to subjugate once more those distant eastern peoples, at the head of which the Medes had revolted against the Assyrians after the death of Sennacherib. Other settlers came from the cities on the west of the Euphrates, Hamath, Ivah, and Sepharvaim;[2] these cities belonged to those portions of Syria which it has been already stated that Asarhaddon subdued. But these very different heathen populations, each maintaining the worship of its own god, had scarcely established themselves in the cities of the deserted country when many of the new settlers were killed by lions; and the fear gradually took shape among them that the ancient deity of the country was wroth with the new inhabitants for the neglect of his religion by the side of the many new faiths that had been introduced. Anxious that this settlement should thrive, Asar-

and there seem to have been two towns of the same name not far from each other, see de Sacy's *Chrest. Ar.* i. p. 331 sq. 2nd ed.; Tabari's *Annalen*, i. p. 185, Dub.; Rawlinson in the *Journ. As. Soc.* x. p. 23, and *Journ. Geogr. Soc.* xii. p. 477; Chwolson's *Abs. über die Altbabyl. Liter.* p. 48 sq.

[1] In the enumeration in Ezr. iv. 9 sq., which is from a very different source, the following are mentioned by name: 1) the Dinaeans [Dinaites], or, according to the LXX, Deinaeans, probably from the Median city which was called in much later times *Deinaver*, cf. Abulfida, *Geogr.* ed. Par. p. 414; 2) Parastakaeans [Apharsathchites], or as the Greeks spelt the name Paratakians, on the boundaries of Media and Persia, see Arrian's *Anab.* iii. 19. 5, 4. 21 sqq.; 3) Tarpelaeans [Tarpelites], perhaps the same as the Tarpurians of the Greeks, Arrian iii. 8. 7; 4) Persians [Apharsites]; 5) Arkaeans [Archevites] in Babylonia, Babylonians, Susaeans [Susanchites] (or Elamaeans, a name omitted in the LXX as of the same signification); 6) Dahians [Dehavites], called Daians by the Greeks. The circumstances of the composition of the passage account for the special mention here of eastern tribes, because a petition is addressed to the Persian king, in which the Samarians especially allude to their eastern origin; hence in v. 6 and vi. 6 only Persian descendants are named. Moreover, that the name of the king in this composition, iv. 10, should be different, is not surprising: the name Osnappar [A.V. Asnapper], according to the Masora, or better, partly according to the LXX, Asannapar, is probably merely a contraction from Asardanapar; and the Greek name Sardanapalus has arisen from Asarhaddon simply by the addition of this termination.

[2] On these two last see p. 162 *note* 4. This passage makes it clear that the order of the cities enumerated in 2 Kings xvii. 30 sq. comp. with ver. 24, is not entirely accidental; and the name of Sidonians subsequently applied in derision to the Samarians, can hardly have referred merely to local and mental relationship. What corruptions these names subsequently underwent may be seen from Epiph. *Hær.* viii. 7, I. p. 22, Petav.

haddon sent them a priest of the worship of Jahveh from the midst of the exiled Samarians; he duly took up his residence in Bethel,[1] and, there is no doubt, following the ancient custom of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, set up an image of Jahveh in the form of a bull. But the purely heathen religions of the new settlers continued to exist along with it; and the ancient sacred places which had been deserted, where so many altars raised in times long gone by were still standing, saw the images of all possible deities erected by their side. This condition lasted till towards the dissolution of the kingdom of Judah;[2] the change which then gradually came over it will be further described below.

This Asarhaddon was, therefore, just the man to make the thoughtless Manasseh also feel his power in Judah. The Chronicles relate that Jahveh sent upon the reprobate prince and his people the generals of the Assyrian king, who carried away Manasseh in chains to Babylon. There, in his affliction, the obdurate king came to a knowledge of his sins, and turned to Jahveh with sincere entreaty; his prayer was heard, and he returned to reign once more in Jerusalem. Whoever is acquainted with the Chronicler's style, will only find in this account an example of the peculiar manner in which this narrator in his half poetic representations so often compresses into a few pregnant words the fuller descriptions contained in his authorities. The historical foundation of this story cannot, however, be called in question. Occasions, or rather pretexts, for war against so foolish a king could not possibly be wanting to the Assyrians; and the Assyrian generals might tempt him into their snares as they had formerly tempted the last king of Samaria.[3] We know from another source that the Assyrians then carried off not only the royal treasures, but even several of Hezekiah's own sons to Babylon, where they were employed about the court.[4] We may very reasonably assume, further, that this did not take place till towards the middle of the long reign of Manasseh;[5] and considering the instability of all the movements of the Assyrian monarchy which was now hastening to its end, it is not surprising that on the death of Asarhaddon,

[1] P. 26.

[2] The author of the description 2 Kings xvii. 24–41 is the last author but one of the book of Kings, and wrote, therefore, towards the end of the reign of Josiah. The exact names of the different idols, ver. 30 sq., are very curious, only they have hitherto been extremely obscure.—In later times this priest was confused with Ezra, and Asarhaddon was made into Nabuchodrozzor; see Epiphan., &c.

[3] P. 164.

[4] 2 Kings xx. 17 sq.; cf. above, p. 188 *note* 1.

[5] According to the *Seder Olam*, c. xxiv., this took place in the twenty-second year of this reign. Can this number be merely fictitious?

if not before, Manasseh should have regained his freedom and his throne. And it may also be historically true that this severe affliction materially affected his view of things and led him to a sort of repentance. At any rate, we find no traces of any renewal of the furious and bloody persecution of the faithful down to the time of Josiah's reforms; and the statement about Manasseh's repentance was contained in the authorities used by the Chronicler.[1] No other consequences of any great importance followed this change of feeling; he restored the altar of Jahveh in the forecourt of the temple which he had previously destroyed,[2] and offered sacrifice upon it; but so far as we can see at present, he allowed the heathen altars to continue as they were.[3] This perhaps explains why the present book of Kings entirely passes over this incident of Manasseh's long career. The heathen element which had penetrated so deeply into the kingdom, was not suppressed till the reign of Josiah; only the severity of the bloody persecution of the faithful was plainly diminished.

Manasseh certainly appears, however, to have had a more prudent regard for the interests of his kingdom in his later years. He provided all the fortresses with proper garrisons, and restored the second wall round Jerusalem,[4] since the outer wall which had been built by Hezekiah[5] either had not been completed, or had perhaps fallen out of repair. While the Assyrian power was tottering to its end, the Egyptian, under Psammetichus, regained its vigour, and he accordingly formed a very close alliance with it. At least we are quite warranted in drawing this conclusion from the few indications which

[1] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18 sq.; comp. with ver. 12 sq. The Chronicler evidently found a fuller account of all this both in the larger book of Kings and in a work on the prophet Hozai. This latter did not probably date from very far back, so that it is possible to suppose that the prayer of Manasseh, found in some of the MSS. of the LXX and now placed in the Apocrypha, has been preserved from it. The extracts from an Apocryphon, which have been preserved in the Targum on the passage in the Chronicles, in Suidas under Μανασσή, and in the *Chronogr.* of Georg. Syncellus, i. p. 404 (cf. also Zunz, *Hebr. Handschriften in Italien*, p. 12), would have to be assigned, judging by the character of their contents, to a later age than the Chronicles, even if the mention of the Logos in the Targum were an arbitrary insertion. Cf. the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 260 sq.— The song in Deut. xxxii. might seem also to fall in this last Assyrian period, as it sounds like an echo of the utterances of Isaiah, and it describes the Assyrians as a corrupt and feeble nation, whose sway Israel ought to be ashamed to endure; but the origin conjecturally ascribed to it p. 194 *note* 6 is more probable.

[2] P. 209.

[3] The Chronicler, xxxiii. 15, certainly says he removed out of the temple and city all the heathen altars which he had erected before, but this view of the results of his repentance is contradicted by the older narrative 2 Kings xxiii. 12; the latter passage is wanting in the Chronicles. The supposition may still remain without disproof that Manasseh merely placed these altars on one side and that they were restored by Amon, but it receives no further corroboration.

[4] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14; cf. vol. iii. p. 254.

[5] P. 175.

remain to us. The war which Psammetichus carried on against the Philistine city of Ashdod, until its final reduction after a siege of twenty-nine years,[1] must certainly have been watched with pleasure in Jerusalem. We further learn from Jeremiah, that an alliance existed with Egypt till the opening of Josiah's reign; and, as he expressly intimates, it replaced the previous league with Assyria, of which people were now weary.[2] This change of feeling in favour of Egypt certainly commenced, however, under Manasseh, and we are even able to state with some precision the terms of the alliance. The army of Psammetichus, who, in former years during the great disturbances in Egypt, had himself found shelter as a refugee in Syria,[3] was for the most part made up of foreign mercenaries.[4] He accordingly received regiments of Jewish infantry, which he conveyed to Egypt by sea from Joppa, supplying Manasseh with war-horses in return.[5] The two states thus mutually exchanged the kind of forces in which each was strongest, and an active intercourse certainly sprang up between them which was not confined to military purposes. The inclination of Judah towards Egypt further involved a more indulgent treatment of the Idumeans, in whom Egypt had taken a friendly interest ever since the days of Solomon; and we learn from a work of this period that the law actually laid stress on this point,[6] in spite of the long national enmity which had subsisted between them.

3. The shelter extended by this peace favoured the arrival in the last years of Manasseh's reign of a period of relative prosperity, which, as we learn from the passage in the book of Micah[7] already alluded to,[8] as well as from the prophetic book

[1] Herodot. ii. 157; hence the 'remnant of Ashdod,' Jer. xxv. 20; cf. xlvii. 4 sq.

[2] Jer. ii. 18, 36. The words seem to imply that an Assyrian alliance had subsisted not only at the time of Ahaz but even down to the reign of Manasseh, but it preceded the alliance with Egypt.

[3] Herodot. ii. 152.

[4] According to Herodot. ii. 152, they were only Ionians and Carians, but Diod. Sic. i. 66 speaks also of Arabians, a term which, from the common usage of the time, might include the inhabitants of South Palestine.

[5] This follows from Deut. xxviii. 68 comp. with xvii. 16. Nothing but the recent experience of some such peculiar proceeding as this could induce the Deuteronomist—1) to describe the worst possible calamity that could befall Israelites as their forcible conveyance by sea to Egypt, there to be treated like slaves; and 2) to command the king of Israel not to convey his people to Egypt, in order to obtain large numbers of horses in return. The testimony in the book of Aristeas (p. 104, ad. fin. Haverkamp's Joseph.) which I only discovered afterwards, and which is brief but very distinct, is entirely independent of this. It is certainly not borrowed from Deuteronomy, and must, therefore, rest on some older narrative.

[6] This results from Deut. xxiii. 8 [7], compared with the harsh precepts of a wholly opposite character about the Moabites and Ammonites, vv. 4–7 [3–6].

[7] Mic. vi. sq. Let anyone only observe how coldly this prophet speaks of the king then on the throne, vi. 9. It is clear from vi. 6 sq. that a deep feeling of penitence had recently penetrated the people, which is quite in accordance with the remarks on p. 217 sq.

[8] P. 207 *note* 3.

of Zephaniah and the earliest utterances of Jeremiah, continued down to the age of Josiah. It was at this time that the present book of Solomonic Proverbs was re-edited, and received several additions, among which the splendid introduction with which it opens deserves special mention.[1] It is a remarkable testimony to the boldness of thought and aspiration with which the spirit of the nation, which had been for centuries so powerfully aroused, could at once advance, when there dawned upon it an era favourable to its calm development. This book not merely carries forward in the same line the lofty conception of wisdom which had been for the first time unfolded in the book of Job; but it also attempts to unite it with the traditional practical wisdom of common life, and to employ it in arousing and increasing alacrity in the exercises of the ancient religion. It displays real and straightforward progress in spiritual aspiration, although the comparative weakness of its language and the looseness of the construction of the verse forcibly point to the time of the gradual dissolution of national energy. The prophets of the age, it is true,—those at least who continued to speak solely from eternal truth,—declared (what they could not help inevitably anticipating) the divine certainty of the speedy fall of the kingdom, and did not even look for the exception which Isaiah had made.[2] The line and the plummet of destruction must be stretched over Jerusalem as in former days over Samaria and Ahab's house; even the remnant of the people must be driven out of the sacred land, and Jerusalem must be upturned from its foundations as when a hungry man wipes a dish empty and then turns it over;[3]—such was the prediction of the true prophets like Hozai and others whose names are now lost to us. But it is yet easily intelligible how, in spite of this, many a noble spirit should make every effort, while the kingdom still existed,—far as the reality might remain behind what it ought to be,—at least to promote by teaching and writing a possible reform. Happily the heart does not always put unconditional faith in the prevision of the deeper insight; and the truths upon which the kingdom was based were so old and solid, that the better spirit, sooner than believe unconditionally in its end, was impelled to make every effort which this sphere still permitted.

[1] Prov. i.–ix.; cf., further, the *Dichter des A. B.* iv. p. 36 sqq.

[2] P. 173 sq.

[3] These sentences, 2 Kings xxi. 11–15, which are characterised by great peculiarities of language, are certainly preserved from contemporary prophets, while the rest bear the marks of the last composer of the book of Kings. Cf. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18 sq.

III. The Deuteronomist.

1. The most successful attempt of this description was that of the Deuteronomist, whose work could only have originated out of the efforts and obstacles peculiar to this age. The numerous truths which were proclaimed by the prophets and which in spite of all the persecutions under Manasseh had only gained in living energy, pressed urgently forward to be realised and represented, if not at once in actual life, yet in utterance and writing. The straight way of prophetic activity in Judah was, however, at that time closed; the best of the prophets had been slain by violence or dispersed, and no generally recognised prophet was still exercising a salutary influence in the kingdom. Indeed, with the decline of all the ancient strength of the nation, the prophetic power had been broken too; and the age was more and more profoundly affected by the depressing feeling that it was incapable of helping itself with its own unaided energies. Accordingly the spirit of the great prophet, from whose work the book which is fitly named Deuteronomy has been adopted into our present collection of the books of the Primitive History,[1] sheltered itself with sincere devotion in the recognised sacredness and unattainable greatness of the founder of the community. As though he had been already transfigured into something almost superhuman, he was represented as emphatically recommending and anew explaining in the last years of his life that law which seemed a pressing necessity for the new age which had advanced so far on the ancient basis. The author of Deuteronomy was not the first who had thus, as it were, moved the great prophet-founder of the community to fresh utterance for the wants of his own age, and concealed his own weakness behind his strength;[2] but beneath this veil he spoke with the utmost impressiveness, and developed most completely the new requirements of the law. The actual situation in which he availed himself of this means of influence was most extraordinary. According to all appearance he was himself one of those who were driven into exile by the perverse tendency then dominant in Judah, and he wrote, moreover, in a country where he was in sight of his unhappy compatriots whom Manasseh had sold, that is in Egypt.[3] The whole history and destiny of Israel seemed to

[1] See further remarks in i. p. 117 sqq.

[2] According to i. p. 115 sqq., *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* xii. p. 192 sq.

[3] All this follows from the signs mentioned p. 219. Let this one point only be considered—how it could be possible for the composer of Deut. xxviii. to conclude a long enumeration of the most various

him, therefore, to have been reversed; Israel brought back by force to Egypt, and that, too, in order to serve either there or in other strange countries the powers and deities of the land! In such a case the soul was necessarily goaded on with the utmost vehemence to reflect on the cause of such a possibility. It felt itself urged by the most pressing need to attempt every method of bringing aid to the kingdom at Jerusalem ere it fell, by revivifying the ancient religion. On the very spot where the great prophet of old had himself laboured, where he had for the first time united the community in the fear of God, his spirit, in an age long subsequent and wholly changed, lays hold of one of his successors and makes him speak as he himself perhaps would speak, if he were still in this earthly vesture; and thus from his home in Egypt the author strives to work, at least by his writings, on the degraded people in the sacred land, so long as it seemed in the least degree possible to counsel and to help the kingdom in its last decline.

And certainly this age could not have witnessed a nobler reproduction of the ancient law in the spirit of the great prophets than this work contains. It is an attempt to harmonise the most elevated and permanent of the prophetic teachings during the last two or three centuries with the essential contents of the ancient law, and thus furnish a new law which might be conducive to the interests of the kingdom as it still subsisted. It is, however, very remarkable and quite in accordance with the feelings of this century, that in this design the author lays great stress on what is seemingly a collateral circumstance, viz. that the sacred law of Israel should be esteemed the wisest, and the nation which follows it wiser than any other.[1] This shows very clearly what power philosophy, as has been described, had acquired in these centuries. In the same way Israel is now exhorted in the most emphatic language not to fall ingloriously, like the nations which it had conquered.[2] The probable occurrence of such a calamity was the just fear of all the clear-sighted persons of that time; and this author is characterised throughout his writings by his learned reference to the ancient history of his nation. It is certainly the ancient

evils with the conveyance of the people back to Egypt in ships, ver. 68! Certainly this only appears here as a threat; but so completely unique an idea could only have been suggested by experience, and it was evidently the latest and the worst which floated in the author's mind. That the idea of the king, of a Hosea or a Manasseh, being carried away by the enemy, was already quite familiar to the author, follows from ver. 36 of the same passage.

[1] Deut. iv. 6; cf. i. 13, 15, xxxiv. 9.

[2] Deut. viii. 10 sq., where the expression is much stronger than in the ancient passages Lev. xviii. 24, 28, xx. 22. Cf. Is. xvii. 9.

law which the speaker inculcates anew, and recommends in every possible way. It is the blessings attending on its observance which he praises with inspired lips; it is against its neglect that he utters the most awful threats, unfolding before the imagination the endless chain of calamities to which the nation is doomed through its growing remissness and unfaithfulness, and which even at the author's own time were so far matters of experience that he could easily borrow from them the graphic pictures of his discourse. In all this he followed the example of the prophets, who had always referred their hearers in general terms to the ancient law, and warned them against its neglect. But he seeks besides to bring its immeasurable variety of detail under one supreme truth; and this truth is a new one, which had never before been brought out in the law with such force and prominence, but which had become from the time of Hosea[1] an abiding truth in the community. It is the truth that love is the highest attribute of God; so that man should love God, and from love to Him keep all his commandments, because God first loved him;[2] which easily leads to the conclusion that man ought in like manner to love his fellow-man.[3] Yet the application of this truth as far as possible to the circumstances of the kingdom confines it within very narrow limits. Inasmuch as Israel is the immediate object of the divine love, its love of man is to be extended to its own fellow-countrymen, and especially to the helpless and defenceless of every condition, but it is not to include the toleration of Canaanites (i.e. Phœnicians), Moabites, and Ammonites in the community. Love being thus discerned as the highest attribute in God, and all true practice of the law by man being recognised as the expression of his own love towards him, its immense variety of details is at the beginning and again at the close concentrated in a few great requirements and pervading duties. As these appeal to the love of man, they are set before his free will only;[4] and their author, the divine spirit in the prophet, out of pure love descends to man's level in order to raise him to his own. The stiffness and severity of the ancient use of the personal pronoun 'I' in the relations of God to man consequently disappear. Moses himself speaks in his own name to the people; he searches out every human reason which could operate on their conscience, and impel them to keep the law; and, moved by the warmth of his

[1] P. 131 sq.

[2] See the principal passages Deut. vi. 4–9, vii. 6–11; further, xi. 1, x. 15, xxiii. 6 [5], with x. 12 sq., xix. 9, and at the close xxx. 6–20. Cf. ii. p. 109 sqq.

[3] Deut. x. 18 sq.

[4] Deut. xi. 26–32, xxx. 15–20.

love, he speaks to the heart, because this alone can act from love.[1] Thus prophetic utterance descends from its elevation for the purpose of simple exhortation and instruction.

This spiritualisation of the law not merely permits the sifting and simplification of the ancient commandments, but further allows of the addition of any other statutes and provisions that may be required. These have to do chiefly with the relations of the two independent powers in the realm (that of the king and that of the prophets), which are now for the first time included in the circle of a legislation proceeding from Moses. The royal power is confined within those limits which were urgently recommended by the various and in part very bitter experiences of recent times;[2] the prophetic is recognised as necessary, though well deserved, but most severe penalties are appointed against false prophets, and the whole community is required to submit every prophetic utterance to legitimate tests.[3] The other chief novelties are the laws of war, which are properly pervaded by the spirit of love and gentleness which supports the whole, in order to mitigate the severities long practised among all nations.[4] Among the inhabitants of the country, however, there were two special classes, who were to derive benefit under the new law of love. In the first place, a tender consideration and fairness towards the clients or half-citizens (Gêrîm) is enjoined.[5] This class was made up partly of foreign immigrants, who only possessed conditional rights in the community, and were often treated as if they had none at all. The fate of the populations subjugated by the Hebrew races is well worthy of remark. Among the Idumeans and other Hebrews outside of Israel, they had long since sunk into a state of the most abject misery, in which they were wholly beyond the pale of law; scarcely could they obtain even a scanty subsistence.[6] In Israel, on the other hand, a nation of increasing civilisation and gentler religion, while there were certainly many in a deplorable condition, there were others who had understood how to acquire a power and position proportionately greater;[7] so that it seemed in every respect

[1] It is really remarkable to perceive how the purely divine '*I*,' which the Deuteronomist for the first time transforms into a human personality, reappears in a few passages unobserved, the speaker being as it were taken unawares by the ancient prophetic mode of speech, xvii. 3, xviii. 18–20, xxix. 4 [5]. So great was the difficulty of introducing a new style of representation!

[2] Deut. xvii. 14–20.

[3] Deut. xiii. 2–6 [1–5], xviii. 9–22.

[4] Deut. xx.

[5] Deut. i. 16, x. 18 sq., xiv. 21; cf. xxviii. 43.

[6] See remarks on Job xxx. 1–10, in the *Dichter des A. B.*

[7] As the expression Deut. xxviii. 43 shows.

time to admit all, as far as possible, on equal terms into the rights of Israel; and this is the course advised in Deuteronomy. In the second place, the Levites were recommended in the most emphatic terms to the sympathy and love of the people.[1] Since the division of the monarchy they had all been collected in the little kingdom of Judah;[2] they had consequently lost a very considerable portion of their ancient rights and revenues; and might gradually suffer from wants, the pressure of which would become stronger in proportion to their own increase as a specially favoured tribe. That Deuteronomy should recommend the numerous poor, though in many respects privileged, members of this class to the general affection, was equitable; but while they had already gained great influence,[3] they received by the Deuteronomic recommendations and laws an almost overwhelming ascendency in the little state, and this would certainly have appeared more plainly but for the speedy destruction of the kingdom itself.

2. Yet this work is not without some traces of the commencement of the decline of the general spiritual life. This renovation of the law, which aims at spiritualising and simplifying everything, nevertheless considers the popular custom of marriage with a husband's brother, which had been left out of sight by earlier legislation, important enough to be included in its scope.[4] And the repeated injunction neither to add anything to the divine command nor to take anything from it,[5] indicates a certain scrupulosity which increased in successive centuries. The most important sign of it directly bearing upon that age is the anxious strictness exhibited about the unity of the holy place. The numerous forms of idol worship with which the country had been flooded from the time of Solomon, and especially since Manasseh, as well as the degeneration of Jahveism itself in many places where there had been sanctuaries from ancient times, and the recent motley confusion which permitted the arbitrary erection of an altar of immorality [6] under every green tree,'[6]—all these circumstances naturally gave rise to a desire of greater order and simplicity in the choice of the holy place, and recommended the employment of one spot where

[1] Deut. xii. 12, xiv. 26–29, xviii. 1–8, xxvi. 12–15; cf. x. 8 sq.

[2] P. 28 sq.

[3] P. 135 sqq.

[4] Deut. xxv. 5–10; cf. the *Alterthümer*, p. 239 sqq.

[5] Deut. iv. 2, xiii. 1 [xii. 32]; cf., similarly, v. 29 sq., xvii. 20.

[6] This expression appears in the prophet mentioned in p. 207 *note* 3, Is. lvii. 5, in its original freshness, but is subsequently repeated in Deut. (xii. 2) as well as very often in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the present book of Kings.

a general control might easily be exerted, and where all the highest and most varied sacrifices might be offered with equal ease. Deuteronomy accordingly endeavours to limit the whole worship strictly to one place; it indicates this (as it could not well name it more distinctly) as the place 'which Jahveh shall choose,' and enjoins the violent destruction of all other sanctuaries, now called simply 'heights.'[1] Whether the author intended Jerusalem to be understood by this phrase he leaves indeterminate—purposely one might suppose (if he was not a Judahite), but for other reasons which confirm the belief that he did so intend.[2] How completely the foundation was here laid for a new arrangement of all worship will be further explained below. It is, however, easy to see that, while this one sanctuary was to be the only place devoted to the offering of sacrifices, simple meetings for prayer and edification were to be permitted everywhere.

Moreover, the hope of the Messiah withdraws in this book into the back-ground, and its withdrawal is not wholly unintentional. It is not impugned or denied, but it seems as though it stood at too pure an elevation to find a place here. Both the royal and the prophetic power had already too clearly exhibited their weakness in the course of their history, for anyone to be able to build anything directly either on the one or on the other, with the object of renewing and strengthening the ancient constitution and religion in accordance with the requirements of the present. And as experience had shown that the Messiah would not come so soon after all, and prophetism since the time of Moses had proved itself too weak to heal the deepest wounds of the state and thus pave the way for the Messiah, it appeared better, while making all possible improvement in the present condition of the Mosaic kingdom, to point out that a second Moses must first come, who, like the first, should operate with power, and to whom the people should render pure obedience. In fact, this new conception of the everlasting hope which elevated the nation during those centuries must have been expressed at the time in other quarters, since it is here only briefly mentioned;[3] what little force it possessed in the future will appear further on.

The language of this new presentation of the law is exceedingly tender, but at the same time somewhat diffuse, without the terseness and firm grasp of the antique style.

[1] Vol. iii. p. 306.

[2] Otherwise he might have been able to content himself with the sacredness of the two mountains Ebal and Gerizim, ii. p. 279 sq. And the Levites!

[3] This is unquestionably the meaning

B. THE VIOLENT REFORMATION UNDER JOSIAH.

I. The Scythians.

A work like Deuteronomy, which transformed the ancient law with such creative power, so emphatically threatened all those who despised it with the severest divine penalties, and, on the other hand, spoke with such tenderness and human feeling about its observance, was in every respect adapted to make a profound impression on its readers, and to produce the effect for which it was designed. Written, however, by an exile in Egypt, it certainly required a considerable time to spread as far as Judah and Jerusalem. In the meantime there soon occurred in the great world important events of another kind, which were well fitted to drag Judah out of that condition of internal confusion in which it had been sunk ever since the beginning of Manasseh's reign, and to direct its attention violently to its deficiencies.

The Assyrian monarchy could not long maintain the great increase of power which it had acquired under Asarhaddon II. The fresh conquests which he had laboriously secured, were all lost probably under his immediate successor. At any rate, after the Scythian war, king Josiah, we observe, extended his dominion from Jerusalem over Samaria.[1] Whether he occupied these northern provinces before, or not till after the expulsion of the Scythians, is doubtful; but it is certain that the Assyrian power on this side of the Euphrates became too weak to prevent the kingdom of Judah from further expanding its sway. And though Asarhaddon had severely pressed and in part rigorously chastised[2] the eastern nations with the Medes at their head, it was now their turn not only quickly to recover their freedom, but even under king Phraortes to undertake a war of extermination against Nineveh.[3] This is the remarkable campaign which Nahum was watching with his own eyes, when he pre-

of the words, Deut. xviii. 14–20, about the prophet like Moses whom God will raise up out of Israel and for Israel, and to whom the same absolute attention must be paid as to his predecessor. With this is most closely connected the representation of the same author, Deut. xxxiv. 10–12, that no prophet as great as Moses had appeared since his day. Cf. the remarks in the *Gött. Gel. Anzeig.* 1861, pp. 1415 sq., 1862, pp. 1194 sq.—The explanation of these words in reference to the Messiah is only an application, and that, too, one which was not rendered possible till the New Testament.

[1] This follows from the indications in 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 15–20; cf. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 6, 9. After Josiah's death the power thus recovered disappeared, and accordingly floats as an object of desire before the mind of Jeremiah, xxxi. 5 sq. Further proof of this is supplied by the subsequent history of Galilee.

[2] P. 215.

[3] Herodot. i. 102; up to the present time the only evidence known, besides Nahum's prophecy, about this campaign.

dicted the approaching end of Nineveh, and composed the oracle which has come down to us.[1] He lived in Elkush (or Elkosh), a little to the east of the Tigris and the north of Nineveh. He had the opportunity, therefore, of observing the whole army on its march past against Nineveh, and he describes everything with the fresh and vivid colours which were only possible to one who was himself in the midst of the war. The city was abandoned by all its allies, and had only itself to defend; for the occupation by the enemy of the eastern border fortresses of its own territory was easily effected,[2] so disgusted were the inhabitants even of the immediately surrounding districts with the sovereignty of the proud city. Its flourishing commerce and extended dominion had, however, in the course of centuries won for it such power and strength within its own walls, which enclosed an unusually large area and yet were well defended, that the issue of the siege proved unfavourable to the eastern tribes who had at that time but little training in the arts of war; and on their retreat, the Median king himself, Phraortes, and the larger part of his troops, paid for their boldness with their lives.

His son and successor Cyaxares[3] now made the more vigorous and careful preparations for a fresh campaign against the imperial city. With better organised troops he defeated the Assyrians on the open field, and advanced to besiege Nineveh a second time. While his army, however, held the city invested, he was unexpectedly attacked by hordes of Scythians, coming from the north-east. They not only compelled him to raise the siege, but subjugated almost the whole of Media; so that it was for many years only with difficulty that Cyaxares could hold his own against them. These wandering Scythians had slowly advanced into Asia from the north through the Caucasian passes; and had already driven the Cimmerians before them. While the latter turned westwards into Asia Minor carrying devastation wherever they went, the

[1] See the *Propheten des A. B.* i. p. 351. [ii. pp. 1 sqq., 2nd ed.; iii. pp. 1 sq. Trans.], with which Tuch agrees in the *Comment. de Nino Urbe* (Lips. 1845). The fact that Elkosh is not found expressly named among the towns enumerated 2 Kings xvii. 6, is insufficient (pp. 165 sq.) to sustain any objection. Later writers, as we learn from the book of Epiphanius, *De Vit. Proph.*, and other Fathers, looked for Nahum's native city in the holy land itself; but that very book of Epiphanius shows that in those late ages people were as zealous as they were inexact and unlucky in trying to make out the places of birth and burial of every prophet. A tomb of Nahum is still shown in Elkosh zealously guarded by Jews, see Badger's *Nestorians*, i. p. 104. But the personal name Nahum was in common use even among the Phœnicians, as Ζηνὼν Ναουμοῦ Ἀραδιος, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ii. p. 393.

[2] In this also Nah. iii. 12 sq. is entirely in accordance with Herodot. i. 102.

[3] Called more briefly Ἀσούηρος, Tobit xiv. 15. See vol. v. p. 72, *note* 3.

former marched eastwards into Media; and the whole of civilised Asia trembled before these Cimmerian and Scythian hordes.[1] This is unquestionably a sort of prelude to the subsequent migrations of races on a large scale in Europe and Asia; and if this great migration of northern nations did not entail consequences of such importance and permanence as those which took place afterwards, we must still be on our guard against underestimating its results, because we find but scanty record of it in books of history. The rising power of the Lydian monarchy put a stop to the ravages of the Cimmerians; but the Scythians produced a much greater effect on the kingdoms on the other side of the Taurus. There was not one of them to which the unbroken vigour of these youthful nations was not in the highest degree dangerous; and it was at first scarcely possible to offer any successful resistance in the open field against their onset. With their fleet steeds they overran the provinces which they had chosen for their prey, laying waste at first only the level plains, since they were as yet little trained in the arts of a long siege; but they captured many a fortified city by a sudden attack; and their presence was everywhere marked by such fearful ravages that their approach was the signal for a general flight of the inhabitants.[2] So deeply was the memory of them stamped on the nations between the Mediterranean and Persia, that Ezekiel predicts a new incursion of these wild northmen into the kingdoms of the south;[3] for the names Magog, Meshek, and Tubal, by which he describes these warlike northern warrior-tribes, may have been already employed by the Hebrews to denote the same tribes as the Greeks called Scythians.[4] And even the later campaigns of the great Persian monarchs Cyrus and Darius against the Scythians only receive their final explanation as a reaction against previous invasions by them of the countries of the south.

The most remarkable fact in the course of these occurrences is the conduct of Nineveh. So far from suffering from the ravages of the Scythians,[5] it derived an apparent advantage from their ascendency in Asia, the duration of which, reckoned

[1] Herodot. i. 103 sq., comp. with i. 6, 15, iv. 11–13; see, further, Strabo, i. 3. 16, Justin, *Hist.* ii. 3; cf., also, Rawlinson's readings of the great inscription of Bisutun, *Journ. As. Soc.* x. p. 259, 264, 294.

[2] This description rests chiefly on the vivid pictures drawn by Jeremiah, cc. iv.–vi., of these northern enemies. The example of Askalon, Herodot. i. 105, proves that they conquered fortresses.

[3] Ezek. xxxviii. sq.; cf. the *Propheten des A. B.* ii. p. 348 sqq. [ii. p. 517 sqq. 2nd ed.].

[4] Ezek. xxxviii. sq.; comp. with xxxii. 26. The name Meshek may be connected with the Greek Massagetae; *cf.* Herodot. iv. 11.

[5] Cf., also, Zeph. ii. 13–15.

by Herodotus at twenty-eight years, was the precise measure of the prolongation of its own existence. It is, therefore, in the highest degree likely that it employed its treasures as well as its ancient craft in ruling to turn the advent of the Scythians to its own purposes, took many of them into its pay, and pointed them out the way to the east towards Media, and to the south-west, in order by their instrumentality to keep in check in that quarter also the revolted nations. We know for certain that they penetrated as far as Egypt without relinquishing the power which they had acquired over the Median nations. Here they were only with great difficulty induced by the gifts and entreaties of Psammetichus to withdraw; and on their way back, they settled for a considerable time in the Philistine city of Askelon.[1]

It is thus clear that only a portion of the Scythians marched against Egypt, while probably the greater number of them remained in the countries of the north-east. It is, however, equally clear that on this expedition the Scythians marched through and devastated those districts which the remnant of Israel was still inhabiting in the holy land. The historical books in the Old Testament do not, it is true, allude to it; but their silence certainly arises from the fact that these migratory tribes were speedily driven out again, and cannot have remained many years in the ascendant in Canaan. Of their presence in the sacred country we have, however, clear evidence. The whole earth round about seemed to be so deeply convulsed by the ravages of these unknown peoples, and all the neighbouring kingdoms with Judah itself tottered and trembled so fearfully before them, that the prophets who were then working in Judah with a success for a long time unheard of might well raise their voices with a call to repentance and amendment. Two important and tolerably full prophetic utterances of this kind have been preserved. The one is by Zephaniah,[2] probably a descendant in the fourth generation of king Hezekiah;[3] of his writings we now possess only the little book, the composition of which was occasioned by the events of this period. The other is by Jeremiah, who was at that time still very young; it was subsequently reproduced as a portion of a larger whole in his great work; but from this very circumstance it deals all the more fully with these special occurrences.[4] It was not long after the thirteenth year of the reign

[1] Herodot. i. 105.
[2] In the LXX Σοφονίας.
[3] In the same way another family still later boasted of descent from this revered king, Ezr. ii. 16, Neh. vii. 21.
[4] Jer. iii.–vi.

of king Josiah, and the twenty-first of his age.[1] No thorough attempt had as yet been made to rescue the kingdom from the deep moral corruption into which it had sunk during the reigns of Manasseh and Amon and the minority of Josiah. This prince appears to have been himself for some time besieged in Jerusalem by the Scythians, on their return from the Egyptian frontier;[2] so at least we may gather from a psalm which may with great probability be ascribed to him, and which sketches for us a vivid picture of these strange warriors.[3] After some years they probably withdrew from Canaan; although in subsequent centuries the name of the city Scythopolis on the right bank of the middle of the Jordan, which lay on the great military and commercial road from Nineveh to Egypt, perpetuated the memory of their former occupation of the country.[4] They did not, however, disappear without having shaken the kingdom of Judah out of its moral slumber; and at no time could such an awakening have been followed by more important consequences than at this, when so many circumstances were urging on a national reform, and the right king to carry it out was on the throne.

II. King Josiah.—The Impulse to National Reform.

1. A close examination of the condition of the kingdom of Judah leaves it beyond doubt that long before this violent summons to a change of life a number of forces had been at work in the same direction. The worst period of the tendency towards heathenism fell really, as has been remarked, only in the beginning of Manasseh's reign, and the fidelity to the true religion then displayed by many martyrs must have opened in the very midst of the frenzy of heathenism a new path of power for its antagonist. With what force the voice of truth was again raised in spite of all persecutions in some noble prophets is sufficiently shown by the examples

[1] The thirteenth is distinctly specified by Euseb. in the *Chron. Can.* ii. p. 187. Certainly we do not know from what source Eusebius derived this date. It seems ultimately to go back to no other authority than Jer. i. 2.

[2] A confused statement that the Scythians on their return to Scythopolis marched through the city in later times called Tricomis (west of Hebron) has been preserved in Cedreni *Hist. Byz.* p. 237, Bonn.

[3] Ps. lix.; cf. the *Dichter des A. B.* ii. pp. 194 sqq. 3rd ed.

[4] According to Greek writers the ancient Beth-shan, for which Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 16, has Nysa, with the pronunciation altered to give it more of a Greek sound. That the Scythians built the city is asserted by Pliny, v. 16, and G. Syncellus, *Chronogr.* i. p. 405, ed. Bonn, not probably upon mere conjecture. And certainly one sees no reason why the remains of them should not have settled in this city, for it is self-evident that the name has nothing in common with the ancient city of Succoth on the other side of the Jordan (ii. p. 386).

of Zephaniah and Jeremiah, and others of whom we no longer know so much as of those two. And outside the limits of prophetism also a large and certainly the most vigorous and beautiful portion of the popular literature since the time of Manasseh had been penetrated with growing strength by the truths of the better religion, and pressed earnestly for an improvement of the national life. The book of Job and the grand introduction to the present book of Proverbs[1] from a relatively earlier period, and Deuteronomy from a later, rise before us simply as the clearest examples out of a long series of similar compositions which must have been formerly circulated among the people.

It is true that, owing to the position which the royal power had for a long time occupied in Judah, no thorough national reform could be attempted unless the king led the way. And Manasseh's son Amon[2] immediately adopted the same heathen course which his father had never been able entirely to renounce. But after two years he fell by a conspiracy among his own courtiers, of the cause of which we are not informed. A similar fate had overtaken his predecessor Joash,[3] yet not after so brief a reign. In the meanwhile the whole people took immediate vengeance on the conspirators, and raised Josiah, the son of the fallen king, to the throne, at the age of eight years. This prince, who was called to power under circumstances of similar gravity, but at a much earlier age than Uzziah,[4] further resembled his great ancestor in his love for the pure religion; he was, indeed, as the book of Kings declares,[5] more devoted to the love of God than any of his predecessors. We are no longer able to trace with clearness the stages of education through which he passed out of his minority;[6] but the constancy and firmness in taking up and defending the cause of strict religion which he displayed according to the Book of

[1] Prov. i.–ix.
[2] P. 207. [3] P. 141.
[4] P. 143, [5] 2 Kings xxiii. 25.
[6] According to 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3–8 Josiah began in the eighth year of his reign (i.e. when sixteen years old, an age at which according to many indications the king's sons attained their majority) to seek Jahveh; and in the twelfth year he commenced as far as he could to destroy all traces of heathenism throughout the country. According to this, the eighteenth year would bring with it no actual change, but rather witnessed only the renewal of the proper celebration of the passover, and similar legal prescriptions. But that which is transposed, according to vv. 4–7, into his twelfth year, is simply a verbal extract from the account of that which, according to 2 Kings xxiii. 4 sqq., did not commence till his eighteenth year. It is true that in 2 Kings xxii. sq. so much is ascribed to the eighteenth year—the discovery of the book of the law, the abolition of all heathen practices, the passover—that the remark naturally suggests itself that at any rate the abolition of heathenism throughout the country could not be effected so rapidly. But, according to 2 Kings xxii. sq., it certainly could not have been effectually carried out before the eighteenth year.

Kings from the commencement of the national reforms in the eighteenth year of his reign (the twenty-sixth of his age), sufficiently prove that his character had early acquired a decided bias in favour of elevation and manliness of life. Moreover, if he is the author, as is in the highest degree likely,[1] of Ps. lix.,[2] a clear proof is afforded of the firmness with which, during the Scythian ravages, that is, some years before the crisis in the eighteenth year of his reign, his trust was directed solely to the salvation and help of Jahveh. The sublime past history of Israel, with its fundamental truths, the memory of David's greatness, of the wonderful deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib, which is evidently alluded to in Ps. lix., and of all the other glories of the history of his ancestors, may at an early age have made a deep impression on his mind. At length the yearning and the hope of the faithful worshippers of Jahveh found in him a prince such as they had desired.

2. In all great changes for which a long and silent preparation has been made, it is something almost of the character of an accident which gives the final impulse to their execution. Nor was it otherwise with that important national reformation which Josiah carried out with such great determination when it was once seen to be needful, and by which the eighteenth year of the reign of this prince became so extraordinarily famous and important. It happened in this year that Josiah sent his finance minister Shaphan to the high priest Hilkiah[3] that he might with him pay over to the chief architect, in the manner which had been legally arranged during the reign of Joash,[4] the temple money which had been for some time collected. The high priest took the opportunity to mention a book of law[5] which he had found in the temple, and gave it to him to read as deserving the most careful attention. Shaphan read it and found it of sufficient importance to be laid before the king,

[1] P. 231 sq.

[2] Besides this, Ps. xxviii. may also have proceeded from his hand; cf. *die Psalmen*, p. 203, 3rd ed.

[3] He must have been by this time very much advanced in years, 1 Chron. v. 39–41 [vi. 13–15]; cf. 2 Kings xxv. 18. He is, however, stupidly confused by later writers with Jeremiah's father, who is mentioned, Jer. i. 1, and who was apparently a common Levite.

[4] P. 139 sq.

[5] The words ספר התורה in the connexion in which they stand, 2 Kings xxii. 8 (cf. the simple ספר, ver. 10), may, without doubt, be taken in this indeterminate meaning in spite of the article before the second noun, see *Lehrb.* § 290*a*, and only this indeterminate meaning will suit the connexion. There is not the most remote idea of an ancient book of law known in former times and now merely found again. The account itself is without doubt derived from the first Deuteronomic editor of the book of Kings, who may have written soon after Josiah. Not till xxiii. 24 is there a trace of another hand, that of the last editor, and in ver. 25 the book of law is for the first time ascribed to Moses without further remark, as in like manner in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14.

and accordingly on his return to the king he read it aloud to him. Josiah was so powerfully impressed by its contents, especially by its divine threats against the transgressors of the laws, that he immediately sent a solemn deputation, consisting of Shaphan, the high priest, and three other nobles, to the most venerated oracle in Jerusalem, to hear what was the state of the case as to the truth of the threats. This was the oracle of Huldah, the wife of a keeper of the royal ordnance residing in the lower city, who is otherwise unknown to us. Jeremiah was then still young, and, besides, he first appeared as a prophet in his native city of Anathoth, not far from Jerusalem, rather than in the capital itself. Huldah entirely confirmed the threats of the book; Jerusalem with its inhabitants was on its way to speedy ruin decreed by God for the many sins of the people; but she added that Josiah himself, as he had displayed such deep repentance on hearing the threats of the book, would die in peace before the advent of this final destruction. Thus encouraged in his resolution by the confirmation of prophetic truth, the king convened a great popular assembly in the temple, explained to them his purpose of governing the kingdom according to this book of law, and making whatever changes were necessary. The people, on learning the contents of the book, were impressed by it as profoundly as the king, and gave in their adhesion to his proposals. Such was the power still exercised by the sentiment that a new law could only come into force by a *covenant* between the powers of the realm.

A little reflection will remove all doubt that this book of law was the same as that which came to be regarded in Israel after this crisis as the only binding and sacred law, especially when it had been within a very short time combined with the present Pentateuch in the manner more fully explained in the first volume. The whole history of Israel proves, with a certainty which increases with closer examination, the double proposition that the present Pentateuch (to speak briefly) became, after the reform of Josiah, an object of reverence and even of sanctity, only proportionate to the total want of any public respect for it before. The book of law then found in the temple was, it appears, nothing but the work of the Deuteronomist, in the original sense of the term, already explained;[1] the only quotation in the narrative from the contents of the book of law does not, in fact, point to anything more than Deuteronomy. The terrifying threats of the divine anger, especially the threat that the sacred land, with its inhabitants, should

[1] Vol. i.

become a thing of horror and a curse,[1] refer to nothing so forcibly as to the concluding discourses of Deuteronomy; and the name of a covenant-book, which is here interchanged with that of a book of law,[2] may fairly apply to Deuteronomy. But as the Deuteronomist had represented the earlier Mosaic history in such a way that the feelings of the reader would be most strongly roused by the renewal of the law which was announced towards the end, and by the powerful words with which it was recommended, it was natural that all the persons in Jerusalem who then set their hand to national reform should be most deeply moved by this portion of the work; and the result was precisely what the Deuteronomist had aimed at in designing the whole of his great book of law and covenant. Nor could the discovery of this book in the temple ever have produced such a great effect, had not the king and many of the nobles, as well as a considerable portion of the people at large, been for a long time disposed at heart for a frank and complete return to the strictness of the ancient religion. The spiritual tendency of the age, however, received the most valuable aid of all from this book, the language of which was as tender as it was threatening; and an event was thus brought about which proved as fertile in its consequences as any other in the course of Israel's history.

The only question which remains is how the book came into the temple and into the hands of the high priest Hilkiah. The best answer that can be given is already implied in the explanation[3] of the origin of the work itself.[4] If it was written in Egypt thirty or forty years before, so that the author might have been dead some time already, and it had only been slowly circulated, and had reached Palestine by a sort of chance, a copy of it may have been accidentally brought by some priest into the temple, and there discovered by the high priest. The all-important object in view, namely, a vigorous renovation of society under the ancient law, was, of course, more powerful and imperative than any question of the ways and means by which it was sought to be, and finally was, attained; and the institution

[1] The words in 2 Kings xxii. 19 cannot be so well referred to Lev. xxvi., where there is no mention of the curse, as to different passages in Deuteronomy.

[2] 2 Kings xxiii. 2 sq., 21; comp. with Deut. xxviii. 69 [xxix. 1].

[3] P. 221 sqq.

[4] We need not therefore suppose that this book was placed in the temple with the purpose for which the Greeks said Heraclitus had concealed his work on philosophy in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, μυστηριωδῶς ὅπως ὕστερον ἡ ταύτης ἔκδοσις γένηται, Tatian *ad Graec.* iv.— But we may compare the way in which the ancient Romans found and introduced their sacred books; cf. C. Alexandre in his edition of the *Orac. Sibyll.* ii. p. 2 sq., 68, 170.

of learned investigations into the age and authorship of a work was not yet included among the wants of the age. We must, however, be on our guard against wantonly clouding the memory of this event by the wholly incorrect notion that the high priest had himself written the book, but had disclaimed the authorship. The want of historical conscientiousness cannot be more painfully displayed than in suppositions like this, which are in every respect without foundation, and, moreover, highly unjust.

III. Nature of the Reforms.—Death of Josiah.

1. At length, then, a reform was to be carried out, not only of public religion, but, inasmuch as this was inseparable from the national life, of the whole state as well. It was a reform which the older prophets had long ago desired; and which had once been seriously undertaken, not a century before, by king Hezekiah.[1] Errors and abuses, which will always in the course of time creep in and increase, were to be more vigorously exterminated, and the whole state placed once more on its better foundations with more sincere resolve. The greater part of the people at large met these new arrangements with alacrity half-way, and a pious king was ready to devote to this great task all the strength and energy of his youth. Never, it seems, could the endeavours of all the good have celebrated a more glorious victory.

Nor ought we to mistake the great advantages which were involved in this turn of events. Once more did the Theocracy, while the human monarchy still subsisted within it, struggle energetically with its aid out of the corruption into which it seemed to have been falling for centuries more and more irretrievably; and inasmuch as everything was tending to inevitable dissolution, and the nobler foundation of the Davidic kingdom of Jahveh seemed unable to escape being completely overgrown with the weeds of false aspirations, it made one more effort to rid itself of these at a single powerful blow. An attempt designed with so much resolution and sincerity, whatever immediate consequences it might have, could not fail, in some way or other, to exercise a salutary influence on the general course of events. Such an effort to give predominance to whatever was intrinsically good in the past order of things would at any rate result in giving to it a more rigid cohesion and impelling it to fresh developments; and if, under the pressure of

[1] P. 173.

other unfavourable circumstances, it should be unable in the long run to counteract the growing dissolution of the whole as then existing, it would at any rate be seen more clearly what deep needs still adhere to this whole before it can be strong enough to make a fresh start on a permanently improved footing.

In spite of the necessity for reform, and the great amount of good which it accomplished, it was impossible for it, on the Deuteronomic basis from which it started, thoroughly to remove the deeper deficiencies of the age, or to save the kingdom effectually from its approaching ruin. Like the age of which it was the product, Deuteronomy was caught in the dilemma of perceiving the deficiencies of the ancient religion, and yet being unable to carry out with sufficient firmness and thoroughness the improvements which were required. It recognises love as one of the highest elements of religion, and purposes to strip off the violence which still adhered to the ancient faith, as it does to every religion which is merely prophetic; but here it stops. This is specially evident in its treatment of the infinite varieties of heathen superstition as well as of some foreign tribes which are to be ruthlessly excluded from the community.[1] It is therefore incapable, in this important respect, of liberating the faithful from those narrow bounds within which the true religion had originated and grown up. In the course of time, certainly, these merely historical limits had become more rigid and difficult to break through in proportion to the danger of the forcible re-entrance of every kind of heathenism, and in the last century since Manasseh a truly mortal contest had arisen between the heathen and the strict religious tendencies; so that the latter might no longer shrink from making the utmost exertions to rid itself of the former. But this only deepened the injuries inflicted by the re-awakening of the violence of the primitive ages of the community, which could, it is true, instantly remove the evils out of sight, but could not stop their sources; and this inevitably threw the organisation of the kingdom into still greater confusion. Manasseh and Amon, in their attempts to promote heathenism, had of course acted in precisely the same manner; but the true religion could only damage its own advance by clinging to the early limitations of its youth in times so distant, and in other respects so much changed.

All the particulars with which we are acquainted of the

[1] P. 223.

reformation executed by the king have about them the mark of violence. It was earnestly intended, it was thorough, it was comprehensive, but above all it was violent. The high priest Hilkiah, with the other priests employed in the temple, was obliged first of all to remove all the vessels used in the heathen rites which had been conducted in the temple itself, burn them in the fields on the banks of the Kidron on the north side of Jerusalem, and transport the ashes out of Judah to Bethel, the ancient seat of the lower religions;[1] these various forms of worship, accordingly, were immediately discontinued, at least in the temple. The next step was to remove from the temple the statue of Astarte, which Manasseh had been the first to set up within the sacred precincts,[2] and also the little houses belonging to it. This was also burned by the Kidron, and its dust was scattered on the graves of the lowest of the people.[3] The two high altars which were erected before two of the gates of Jerusalem,[4] as well as those scattered throughout the country of Judah, were defiled by throwing human bones upon them. Many of these were[5] very ancient sanctuaries, in which Jahveh himself was worshipped; now, however, they stood in opposition to the great temple, and all sorts of superstitions had gathered around them. The more artistic forms of heathenism introduced by Ahaz, Manasseh, and Amon,[6] the symbols of which had been set up in the temple and in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, were abolished in like manner by desecrating their different localities; nor did the sanctuaries erected for heathen deities by Solomon[7] escape. Even the high altars in Bethel and other places built in bygone days by the kings of the Ten Tribes met the same fate at the hands of Josiah, as these districts were at that time attached to the kingdom of Judah;[8] and it was then that the bones of an ancient grave in Bethel were unexpectedly spared, as we have already mentioned.[9] Other varieties of ancient or modern superstition were included in the same proscription. Further, all the priests of these heathen or heathenised religions in Judah and Jerusalem, as well as in what had formerly been

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 4.
[2] P. 208.
[3] 2 Kings xxiii. 6 sq.
[4] Ver. 8; the one lay before the gate named Joshua after the general of the city, the other to the left of the so-called city-gate or castle-gate. This is unquestionably the way in which these words are to be understood, although we do not find the names of these gates elsewhere, though they were common at that time. At most a ו (*and*) might have fallen out before the last שֵׁם; yet, according to 2 Kings xii. 5, even this is unnecessary.
[5] Vol. iii. p. 306 sq.
[6] P. 169.
[7] Vol. iii. p. 297.
[8] P. 227.
[9] P. 30 sqq.

Samaria, were put to death, as though these false priests at any rate must fall as sacrifices for all their followers among the people. Only the hereditary sacrificing Levites, who had profaned themselves by entering such a priesthood, escaped execution, through reverence for the family of Aaron. They were never again, however, allowed to touch the altar of Jahveh; but they shared the treatment allotted by ancient custom to those who were unclean without personal guilt, and received at Jerusalem a scanty subsistence from the bread of the sanctuary.[1] —Such was the kind of violence employed in the abolition of heathenism, and it was in a similar spirit that the characteristics of the ancient religion itself had to be formed anew. The strictness with which it was intended henceforth to maintain the usages of the religion of Jahveh was indicated all the more forcibly in the immediate celebration of the passover, since this was originally designed to serve as an expiation and purification on entering on a new stage of existence; and it is expressly observed that, since the time of the Judges, there had never been such a celebration of the passover, in such strict accordance, that is, with the prescriptions of a sacred book, as that which now took place.[2]

The deficiency of our information renders it no longer possible for us to pursue in detail the various transformations consequent on this great change. Josiah himself lived in entire conformity with the new national law; by the careful administration of justice he alleviated the distress of the more helpless of his subjects, and he won the esteem of all by his gentle yet efficient sway.[3] It is certain, however, that in spite of the excellent intentions of this pious king, a series of new evils began to develope themselves in the kingdom and among the people. There were, first of all, those which arise wherever a sacred book is made the basis of all public life—conceited wisdom of books and hypocritical spiritualism. In earlier ages there was no danger to the people from these evils, as the course of their history has shown. With the exception of the Oracle, the reach of which is limited, and the royal mandate, only short isolated laws like the Decalogue possessed any public autho-

[1] All this is the meaning of 2 Kings xxiii. 5, 20, 8 sq.; cf. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4 sq.

[2] 2 Kings xxiii. 21–23. The Chronicler, 2 Chron. xxxv. 1–18, seizes this opportunity to give a full account of all the usages of the passover practised at this time, which are not further alluded to in the Pentateuch; they are, indeed, represented here with still greater plenitude of detail than in the life of Hezekiah, p. 189 sq.—The State-annals can only suppose the passover had never been kept so before in reference—1) to the additional sacrifices besides the paschal lamb, Deut. xvi. 2; and 2) to the strict unity of the place of the celebration, Deut. xvi. 5.

[3] Especially according to Jer. xxii. 15 sq.

rity; but even the commands of the Decalogue were not strictly observed always and everywhere, as is proved by the example of Jeroboam I.,[1] and by the lamentations of the great prophet Hosea over the general neglect of the recorded divine utterances.[2] Detailed books of law similar to the present Pentateuch were certainly in existence long before the time of Josiah, but they possessed no binding authority, still less were they sacred. As soon, however, as a book was raised into the position of fundamental law of the realm, especially a book so comprehensive in its history and jurisprudence as the Pentateuch, there necessarily arose a new power in the State, viz., book-learning. This combined[3] with a literature already very extensive and exercising a powerful influence without compulsion, and an active aspiration after wisdom which had long since passed its first youth. Accordingly, if its development was stimulated into greater rapidity by the great advance of the general intellectual life of the people, so also was its degeneration. Here, it produces a new kind of pride and conceit which, in possessing the letter, believes itself to possess true wisdom; there, a hypocrisy which thinks it will find piety in the same source, and indeed affects to have found it already; and the swift development of these evils was necessarily hastened by the violence of the national reforms. That they did make their appearance very soon is proved by the prophetic song Ps. l., which may have been composed before the death of Josiah; probably towards the end of his reign, when fresh storms arose in the distant sky, and fresh despair consequently broke out among the people. Further evidence is supplied by many oracles of Jeremiah's,[4] whose prophetic career extended through the whole of this change, and who, upon its very first manifestation, proclaimed the eternal truth about this false learning.

2. In the meanwhile the relations of the nations round Judah became every year more and more confused; nor did the expulsion of the Scythians bring it any permanent relief. Nineveh still stood a prey for the best combatant, and in the countries of western Asia, which she had once ruled, it did not seem likely that any new kingdom would be formed powerful enough to cause alarm to the stronger states adjoining. Egypt,

[1] P. 25 sq.
[2] Hos. viii. 12.
[3] P. 190. sqq.
[4] Especially Jer. viii. 8 sq.; what a distance is there between this and oracles like Is. xxix. 13, and how great the change in Israel in this one century! How 'the law' henceforth occupied more and more of the thought and life of the people is proved clearly by passages like Ps. i. 2, Hab. i. 4.

which had in earlier times suffered much from the Assyrian supremacy, but which now possessed, in its twenty-ninth dynasty, a race of energetic rulers, might at last think its hour was come, not only to avenge itself on its ancient enemy, but also to conquer a considerable portion of those territories of Assyria which were seemingly without a master. Against Ethiopia, from which it had previously had much to fear, it was now quite secured;[1] and accordingly the prudent Psammetichus had already[2] mixed himself up in Palestinian affairs by conquest and negotiation, as far as he thought he could without risk. His son Nekao (or Neko, *Necho*), prouder and bolder than his father, now made great preparations for subjugating as large a portion as possible of the Assyrian empire. In this he was at first willingly assisted by the new Chaldean power, as will be explained below. He constructed powerful armaments in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea,[3] plainly to enable him to transport his troops quickly into what had formerly been Assyrian territory. With the fleet in the Mediterranean he sailed first to the Phœnician coast, disembarked his army somewhere near Accho, and commenced a series of territorial conquests. His next step brought him without further consideration into contact with portions of the former kingdom of the Ten Tribes, which had been entirely subdued by the Assyrians. This district of the ancient inheritance of Israel had, however, passed into the possession of the kingdom of Judah;[4] although, so far as we know, no agreement had been made about it with the Assyrian king who continued to reside in Nineveh. Indeed, when we consider the fury with which the Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, and other neighbouring tribes rise against Judah, immediately on the appearance of the Chaldeans, it becomes extremely probable that Josiah was attempting, and not wholly without success, to restore the sovereignty

[1] The destruction of No-Amon, i.e. Thebes, to which Nah. iii. 8–10 alludes, which must fall, therefore, in the first half of the seventh century, was effected, according to the statement preserved in Amm. Mar. *Hist.* xvii. 4, by the then rising power of Carthage; this must have been, however, with the assistance of several African nations, and not against the desires of the house of Psammetichus. It was in fact only the counterblow to the great African conquests of Tirhakah. Cambyses consequently found later on the old connexion between Egypt and Ethiopia quite destroyed by the settlement of wholly new nations in their midst.—If the Assyrians on some occasion conquered Thebes, which has been recently made out from the Assyrian inscriptions (see Hincks in Lepsius' *Ægyptischer Zeitschrift*, 1866, p. 1, 20), the question arises in what historical connexion this event should be placed. It is not distinctly an Assyrian conquest that Nahum alludes to.

[2] Pp. 219, 230.

[3] Herodot. ii. 159; cf. with 2 Kings xxiv. 7. Later Jews, with an attempt at wit, interpreted the Egyptian name Necho by the Hebrew, as if it meant *the lame*.

[4] P. 227.

of the House of David over the surrounding nations. In an age when the Assyrian power was withering away, it was at any rate a becoming course for a king who desired to be in all respects a true successor of David. In the conquests which the Egyptian king was now attempting in the territory on the north, Josiah might, therefore, conceive his own rights injured, and at the same time feel himself strong enough alone, if necessary, to venture on a war with him. A little reflection sufficed to show that it would be all over with the independence of Judah if the Egyptians established themselves in the north; the inferior considerations which suggested themselves against a war with Egypt were, no doubt, completely removed by favourable oracles, and the powerful reawakening of the Messianic hopes. At every period when Israel had received an internal impulse to a more active religious life, its ancient marvellous courage against external enemies rose with it; and oracles in this spirit were certainly not unheard, although the remembrance of them has now passed away. In brief, Josiah marched boldly against the Egyptian forces. The two kings encountered each other at no great distance from the sea on the broad plain of Galilee, where the fate of Palestine was so often decided. The exact spot was between Magdol and Hadadrimmon, not far from the larger city of Megiddo.[1] Josiah was mortally wounded in the battle, and was carried half-dead from the field; but his faithful servants brought the body in safety to Jerusalem, where it was buried with all honours.[2] The battle was lost for Judah, and the Egyptian king was enabled to pursue his plans without hindrance. The grief of the people at the fall of their brave and pious king at the age of thirty-nine years was unprecedented. It seemed as though a gloomy foreboding would take possession of their

[1] *Mende* in Josephus is probably a mere transcriber's error. Magdol which is given in Herodot. ii. 159 might seem to have originated from the pronunciation Magedon for Megiddo, since *n* and *l* at the end of a proper name often interchange in passing into another language: but this hypothesis is unnecessary, since the place Megdel not far from Accho, to the north of a tributary of the Kishon, which is marked on Robinson's map, is quite suitable, and is probably the same as the Magdiel not far from Carmel in Guérin, *De Ora Palaestinae*, Par. 1856. If this was the situation of the Egyptian camp, that of Israel probably lay to the east, by the spot still called Rumman, the Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddo; that the city of Hadadrimmon was, at any rate, the city where Josiah died, may be gathered from the brief words Zech. xii. 11. Ritter's suggestion (*Erdkunde*, xvi. p. 69) of Megdel near Askalon contradicts the certain traces of history.—The words 2 Chron. xxxv. 23 recall strongly 1 Kings xxii. 34; and the whole speech of Necho, ver. 21 sq., is due simply to the free representation of the king; in particular, the divine command mentioned in ver. 21 sq. has nothing in common with the oracle Herodot. ii. 158.

[2] Hence the expression 'he shall come in peace to his fathers,' 2 Kings xxii. 20, still retains its truth; cf. Jer. xxxiv. 5, and the reverse case of Jehoiachim described below.

minds that with him had fallen the realm itself, of which he had been the last great prop. Long years after, the elegies composed on him by Jeremiah, and sung among the people, were still preserved,[1] and were repeated with a sad pleasure on the days set apart for the commemoration of the royal hero.

C. THE FALL OF THE KINGDOM.

I. Condition of the Monarchy, and of Prophecy.

1. King Josiah had only survived his great undertaking of national reform by thirteen years; a period far too brief for the complete removal of ancient and deep-rooted evils, and the lasting impress of a new direction upon the life of a whole people. Had the nation been able to carry on in the same spirit the work cut short by his too early fall, the kingdom, now growing so old, might have entered on a new lease of youth. The terrible disaster in which his death involved the state, and which threatened to destroy his work, might have become the first and at the same time the best test of its excellence and durableness, and the long-threatening ruin would have been postponed for an indefinite period. But the bitter violence with which Josiah had introduced his reforms inevitably injured their success. When the first alarm was over, the heathen party evidently collected their strength afresh; and the calamitous issue of the reign of that king who had pledged his life for the forcible protection of the higher religion was the less calculated to secure permanent stability for the cause which he had defended.

Josiah was not, indeed, the first sovereign who proceeded with violence in the cause of religion. It had already been displayed in a much greater degree by Manasseh in his persecution of the adherents of the spiritual religion, and had been the source of evils, the bitter consequences of which were still matters of painful experience, as Jeremiah and several of his contemporaries continually lament.[2] Almost the whole of the previous history carried within it this impulse to violence in action still unsubdued; and even prophetism itself originally shared the same spirit, and did not recognise until the latest

[1] This follows not merely from 2 Chron. xxxv. 25 sq., but also from Jer. xxii. 10, 18, Zech. xii. 11. It is clear that the Chronicler had in view not the present book of Lamentations in the Canon of the Old Testament, but a larger collection containing those composed by Jeremiah upon Josiah, and it is further undeniable that Jeremiah may have written poems of this sort, though he himself subsequently speaks against the too vehement lamentations of his countrymen for their dead king, Jer. xxii. 10.

[2] P. 214.

period of its development the possibility as well as the necessity of a totally different method of procedure. It was the peculiarity, however, of this age that the disastrous consequences of this sort of action in civil and religious matters all coalesced into one mass, and thus produced inextricable confusion. Violence, displayed for centuries under the most varying circumstances, only increases the distance and hostility of the parties into which a community may separate. From the time of Solomon, accordingly, the different parties in the kingdom of Judah had been getting further and further apart; but since the frantic persecutions of Manasseh and the violent reformation of Josiah they had been so sharply divided, and so irreconcilably embittered against each other, that even in the presence of the most obvious dangers to the state they could not agree to work together for the common good. And it was the fatal misfortune of the age that even the party which gained the victory by Josiah's reformation, and which desired to defend the more spiritual religion, was incapable of freeing itself from the ancient error which the bitter lessons of centuries might have made quite plain to them, and against which a counter-influence had been for some time exerted by a new truth which began to form part, at any rate, of prophetic anticipation, if only occasionally of its direct teaching.

The position of these parties, when more closely inspected, may be stated as follows:—The Deuteronomic (to describe it briefly) or more scrupulous party demanded the most thorough-going severity towards the heathen religions, even to their extirpation. With this view they returned to the primitive requirements of the religion of Jahveh; overlooking, however, the fact that the other tendency which had been gaining increasing strength since Solomon's time, had acquired a certain right in so far as it was the vehicle of the obscure impulse to release the ancient religion from those bonds which were now become more injurious than useful. The freer party, which was disposed towards heathenism, was by no means desirous of giving up Jahveh, the ancient deity of their country. This was a clear advance on the troubled times of Ahab and Manasseh. But they not only permitted the worship of all the heathen deities, in spite of the solemn promise made under Josiah to cast away everything heathen,[1] but took pleasure

[1] This is clear not only from Zech. xiii. 2, Jer. vii. 18, 30 sq., viii. 2, but also from Jer. xi. 10, 12 sq., xiii. 10, 27, xvii. 1 sq., xviii. 15, xix. 4 sqq., 13, xxii. 9, xxv. 6, xxxii. 29, 34 sq., Ezek. vi. 4, viii. 3 sqq., xxiii. 38 sqq. It is evident from this that almost all the old forms of heathen worship had been restored, while new ones were added.

also in the base morality which adhered to heathenism.[1] The stricter party, therefore, demanding what was in fact no longer suitable for the kingdom, and purposing to carry out their demands with violence, could only prevail for a time by the power and fresh enthusiasm of a king like Josiah. From a moral point of view, the justice of their requirements placed them in advance of the freer party; but the latter, while they, no less than the former, relied for support on mere violence, had the whole of the present with its aspirations after freer development on their side. Accordingly, immediately after the unfortunate fall of Josiah, they regained the upper hand; and their power proved so irresistible that all the four kings who now successively occupied the throne of David, in spite of their great diversities of age, purpose, and spirit, were compelled to follow their lead,[2] especially since heathen nations became from this time the masters of the kingdom. They were not, however, able to overthrow by law the reformation which, under Josiah, had been established by law; and the whole kingdom, therefore, fell into a tangle of embarrassments which it required a force greater than either party could exert to undo or to sever. When Jeremiah, the greatest prophet of this period, continually lamented the unfaithfulness of the people of Jahveh towards its lord,[3] he had in view not only what was outwardly legitimate, but the general condition of the people as well. With Ezekiel the name 'House of Israel' gives way to the new and bitter appellation, 'House of Disobedience;'[4] but not even the most passionate complaints and terms of the most biting derision had any longer the power to bring the kingdom to its senses. The utmost success of the stricter party, after which it had striven so long, a national reform as they understood it, had proved incapable of permanently securing true prosperity. The last and most powerful remedy was now exhausted; applied in vain, it served only to increase the previous confusion; and it could not fail to become clear to the kingdom that violence at last overthrows its own house, however durable it may at first seem to be. The capital itself was the scene of the severest collision of these two irreconcilable parties; it was

[1] It is sufficient to adduce as an example the manner in which the manumission of slaves was discontinued after it had just been sworn to, Jer. xxxiv. 8-11.

[2] According to the short but decisive expression that they had all 'done evil before Jahveh,' 2 Kings xxiii. 32, 37, xxiv. 9, 19; the important limitations with which this expression is to be understood in special cases will be seen below.

[3] Jer. vii. 28, viii. 5 sqq., xxii. 21, and elsewhere; the subject is more especially treated in the piece cc. xi.–xiii.

[4] See the *Propheten des A. B.* ii. p. 204 [ii. p. 324, 2nd ed.], cf. Ezek. iii. 7 sq.; the name is borrowed from such incidental expressions as Is. xxx. 9.

there that the sharpest spiritual as well as physical contests had been carried on for centuries; and they now degenerated into an excess which could only lead to final destruction. 'Jerusalem is an unnatural mother of her children,' is now the judgment of the better prophets;[1] or 'it is become worse than Samaria once was;'[2] for the truth was proclaimed in it much more powerfully than it had been in Samaria, and yet it fell into the same condition, and therefore from its greater elevation it must sink to still lower depths.

2. The monarchy, which had been apparently unable even before Josiah to maintain itself sufficiently free from the violence of factions, fell after his death entirely to the disposal of the heathen party who had regained the upper hand. The clearest proof of this is afforded by the history of the last king of which we know the most particulars.[3] And also the second independent power which should legitimately have supplied support and strength to the state, viz. prophetism, was now irrecoverably broken. The general progress of civilisation in Judah rendered this no loss, but on the other hand a gain. The influence exerted by the great prophets through their words, whether spoken or written, and their actions, must have gained for their truths an increasing acceptance among the people at large. This has been already explained,[4] and we see a still more striking example of it in this age than a century earlier. But with this, one main purpose of the better sort of prophetism had already attained its end; and accordingly the violent manner of putting forth truth, which was originally the peculiarity of propheey, must become gradually weaker and disappear. But legally prophetism still continued to form one of the bases of the state, and no one had the power or the right to declare it abrogated. The numerous prophets of Jahveh had inherited as members of the state much of the lofty respect which a few of the earlier prophet-heroes had won for their sphere of activity. They continued to form a numerous and prominent class,[5] and the great disturbances and disasters of the times which followed the fall of Josiah, once more called forth the prophetic activity in all its vigour. The essential nature and the manifestation of prophecy were certainly by

[1] Ezek. xxxvi. 13-15, cf. xxii. 3 sqq.; Jeremiah (vii. 11) called the temple itself with its wide courts a den of murderers.

[2] Jer. iii., xxiii. 13 sq., xxxi. 15 sqq.; the same is expressed more fully in Ezek. xxiii.; cf., also, Lament. i. 8 sq., iv. 12 sq.

[3] Cf., especially, Jer. xxxviii. 5, 14-27.

[4] P. 127.

[5] They appear so expressly in 2 Kings xxiii. 2 (although this passage is altered in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 30); the same is clear from Zech. xiii. 2-6, Jer. xxiii. 9 sqq., Ezek. xiii. 1 sqq. and other indications.

this time quite well understood; it is indeed surprising to observe how the true understanding penetrates all the literature of the period, and how the deepest life and aspirations of the noble prophets of Jahveh, their inmost sentiments and impulses, their weakness and their divine strength, have found in this age historic portrayal.[1] But it seemed as though the spread of this general consciousness of the true character and operations of prophecy was due solely to the fact that its once great influence now began to be missed, so that memory turned to it with the greater ardour, and the actual influence and importance of single prophets corresponded ill enough with the hereditary respect already alluded to, as well as with the serious state of the times. The great majority were afraid of the progress still possible to them, contented themselves with outward honour, repeated with devout air the sacred denunciations of earlier prophets,[2] and even called to their aid arts of magic;[3] but they allowed the pure divine truth to grow weaker and weaker, and passed a miserable life in flattering the ruling party, to which, in the midst of their coarse sins, they promised peace and prosperity;[4] it was no wonder that they were mockingly called only the 'tail' of the great.[5] Opposed to them, and in constant and severe struggle with them, were a few men led by the true spirit, who were still able to conceive, recognise, and proclaim the purest truths, the most assured anticipations. In these, the prophetic power, following the general advance of the intellectual impulse of the age, had stripped off the last traces of the ancient violence which were still to be found in Isaiah, and had risen to the most spiritual ministration. To proclaim the necessary truth, to utter their warnings in the name of Jahveh, was their only desire; to abstain from exerting even the very smallest compulsion by their word, not even to demand faith in their prophetic signs, was their fundamental principle.[6] This was the highest consummation of all prophetic agency in Israel, inasmuch as prophetism, had not the national constitution rendered it too

[1] Cf. representations so extraordinarily instructive as well as picturesque as are contained in 1 Kings xix., 2 Kings ii. (p. 110 sq.), 1 Kings xiii. (p. 30), the book of Jonah, and other similar pieces.

[2] For this, and for much else of a like nature, see the standard passage, Jer. xxiii. 9–40.

[3] The female representatives of the class were especially bold in these practices, Ezek. xiii. 17–23.

[4] Jer. viii. 11, xiv. 13–15, xxiii. 17, Ezek. xiii. 5, 10, 16, Lament. ii. 14, iv. 13. The deep degeneracy of the majority of the prophets of this age is lashed with the greatest severity by the unnamed prophet from the country, Zech. xiii. 2–6.

[5] According to the addition to the words of Isaiah ix. 14 [15], which certainly is not of later date than the seventh century.

[6] See the *Propheten des A. B.* ii. pp. 3–5, 205 sq. [ii. 65 sq., 325 sq., 2nd ed.; in Introd. to Jer. and Ezek.].

powerful, might easily have passed on the one hand into simple wisdom and instruction, on the other into a prophetic feeling attainable by all better minds; yet in the midst of it the words of these few ever fell upon deaf ears and stubborn hearts. Thus the prophetic ministry would no longer receive any help from violence; and so the best prophetism, in laying it aside entirely, lost its force; and thus the second independent power, also, on which the kingdom rested, was already inwardly destroyed.

But the exhaustion of the living operation of true prophecy indicated something totally different in Israel from what it would have meant in any other ancient nation. The activity of prophecy in the highest purity and force which antiquity exhibits had been alike the earliest beginning and the firm basis of the community of Jahveh. The depth and solidity of this foundation was not to be shaken, still less to be upturned, by the addition of the human monarchy in the second age, and in all the crises of both these periods it had always been the prophetic activity which had exercised the profoundest influence on the course of events, and had often saved the state from the most present dangers. Now, however, prophetism, so far as it was still in the service of truth, had no longer the power to exert any deeper influence whatever upon the community. In spite of its purest efforts, it met only with paralysing indifference or obstinate resistance. This contributed even more than the enfeebling of the monarchy to break the inward power which had hitherto supported the community; and though its members still formed one of the nations of the world, yet that nation had now wholly changed the character which had marked it since the time of Moses. The sacred voice which had hitherto been always heard in the most critical moments of national history, and which, not merely heard, had made itself felt with vigour in every quarter, and had impelled others to carry out its sentiments in action, now resounded in the confusion of popular life, almost unheard and unattended to. How then could the body which had lived so many centuries continue to exist, when the most powerful organ of its vital breath was paralysed, and there was nothing else at hand to take its place and give it a better and a greater strength? Once become incapable, nothing else could immediately replace it. The priesthood had not held itself sufficiently free from the corruptions of the age;[1] although it still numbered many

[1] Jeremiah often includes the priests in his reprobation of the prophets and the princes, as in i. 18, ii. 26, iv. 9, xiii. 13, xxvi. 11; in the same way Ezek. xxii. 25–30, Lament. iv. 13–16.

honourable members, and prophets like Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and Ezekiel came from its ranks. The wisdom of the schools, though highly developed, was yet by no means possessed of self-knowledge and strength adequate to the renewal and protection of the national life; while the scripturalism which had just begun to arise increased rather than diminished the evils of the age, in consequence of the hypocrisy[1] which soon adhered to it. Religion had stopped short in the midst of its endeavours to reach perfection; national freedom, which had long been highly developed, could not find its proper limits, and the perfect king, the great object of desire, had not come.

This renders Jeremiah, the greatest prophet of this age, the truest type throughout his whole career of the inevitable dissolution of the kingdom. Possessed of the most perfect prophetic spirit of all, unstained by any perverse tendency, his noblest utterances, nevertheless, fell fruitless from his lips; his worst forebodings, his severest threats were vain. Unwearied by any disappointment or catastrophe, he ever collected his energies afresh for simple labour at Jahveh's work; and yet at times bowed down by the overwhelming burden of the age, and the bitter anticipation of the inevitable end of Israel's long course, he almost lost the iron power and confident composure of an ancient prophet, and bowed down in despair, as though under a curse. Through a career of half a century he preserved and increased in his own person the honour of prophetism; yet its results turned out exactly opposite to Isaiah's,[2] for his labours proved less and less successful, and his own lot was one of increasing sadness. Precisely similar was the decline of the whole state; although it concealed within itself some mysterious higher possibility, yet it ever sank more and more irretrievably into the yawning abyss, beyond the power of human vicissitudes and exertions to raise it again as they had done some hundred years before in Isaiah's time. In Jeremiah the kingdom lost the most human prophet it ever possessed. His heavy sorrows and despair, his noble yet fruitless struggles, and his fall, were those of the whole of prophetism, and, so far as prophetism constituted the inmost life of the ancient state, those of the state itself. If any pure soul could still save the state, that soul was Jeremiah's, whose period of greatest vigour fell in those three and twenty years of its dying agony; but even for the noblest of the prophets the time was now gone by, and the last great prophet and all the remains of the ancient

[1] P. 239.
[2] P. 168 sqq. See further the *Propheten des A. B.* ii. pp. 1–11 [63 sqq., 2nd ed.].

kingdom of Israel, which had been preserved amid the storms of centuries, were engulfed in a common ruin.

3. While the two independent powers which alone were capable of upholding the state were thus in collision, and the kingdom, unable to find the proper king, and no longer possessing a prophet who could save it, was advancing to its fall, serious dangers began to arise from other evils, from which it had suffered for some time past, or was then temporarily suffering. With the division of the Davidic monarchy the old national power of Judah had been broken, and the breach had grown wider and deeper since the frantic reign of Manasseh. The old race of warlike heroes had to an increasing extent given place to a people greatly changed by their passion for commerce and gain as well as by their higher civilisation, wisdom, and literature. The intellectual possessions which the nation had since acquired,[1] had not been capable of adequately replacing the great loss of national power, and removing the ineradicable pain which, since the disruption of the kingdom, had pierced the heart of the people. In the very language of the seventh century, with its increasing diffuseness, its artificial terseness, and its imitation of ancient models, we may trace the internal decline of the self-consciousness and power of the nation. Every fresh advance might have eradicated these symptoms of the growing age of the national energy; but when the main supports of the state collapsed in decay they also contributed to the approaching ruin. The hypocrisy which was able after Josiah's time[2] to raise its head more freely was as far from promoting the power and security of the state as the fanatical confidence in the impossibility of the destruction of the holy place, which had taken possession of the minds of many, especially since the last years of Isaiah,[3] and which now became really pernicious.[4] The supremacy of powerful foreign nations, under which the kingdom was placed after the disaster of Josiah, now began to be really fatal. At such times, moreover, evils long since grown obsolete reappear; and accordingly the neighbouring nations formerly subdued by force of David's arms began at the close of the monarchy to rouse themselves to the gratification of their ancient revenge against Israel. It seemed as though the nation had still to pay the divine penalty even for the very last of those human errors which it had committed in earlier times,

[1] P. 190 sqq.
[2] P. 240 sq.
[3] P. 185.
[4] It is strongly denounced by Jer. vii. 4, cf. xxvi. and Ezek. xi. 3 sqq.; yet this belief is shared by the prophetic author of Zech. xii.–xiii. 6, xiv.

and had not yet properly atoned for; for even the Deuteronomist had only recommended one or two special nations to Israel's sentiment of equity.[1] The most different influences, therefore, contributed to bring about the end of the tragedy, and yet none of them was unnatural or strange. During the many storms of the preceding centuries many of the noblest minds of Israel had been possessed with the deep longing that this little nation, which had become so different from all the heathen, might, in its own country and under the protection of its God, keep, as it were, a little peaceful garden in the midst of the earth, where it might still live its own life secure in happy tranquillity and contented piety.[2] But there were good reasons why this wish was not destined to be fulfilled; for the path of Israel had for a long time diverged too widely from the heathen, and yet it had been thrown with too much violence into the midst of their great history. The course of Judah is now entirely directed by its distant masters, and its relations to them determine its fate.

II. The Egyptian Vassalage.

1. After his victory over Josiah, Pharaoh Necho, satisfied that he was secure against attack on this side, appears to have turned further to the north-east, in order to subdue the little kingdoms of Damascus, Hamath, and others, which had regained their independence after the decline of the Assyrian power, and thus advance towards the Euphrates. At any rate, three months later we find him in his palace at Riblah, on the north of the holy land.[3] When the news of Josiah's death reached Jerusalem, the first idea was to carry on the policy which he had pursued. This, at least, may be gathered from the fact that the people of their own accord raised a younger son of Josiah, named Shallum, to the throne. This prince, on his accession, took the new name of Jehoahaz,[4] and remained averse to the Egyptian supremacy. It is obvious, therefore, that his elder brother Eliakim[5] was put aside intentionally, as suspected of those tendencies to heathenism which he actually displayed

[1] Pp. 219, 223.

[2] Num. xxiii. 9, Mic. vii. 14, Deut. xxxiii. 28; cf. ii. p. 303.

[3] 2 Kings xxiii. 31–33; on the situation of Riblah, see ii. p. 294, *note* 3.

[4] This name is found in 2 Kings xxiii. 30–34; the other in Jer. xxii. 11 and 1 Chron. iii. 15.

[5] 2 Kings xxiii. 34; on the other hand, he is called Jehoiakim at once in Jer. xxii. 18 and 1 Chron. iii. 15. From the latter passage it appears that Josiah had a still older son Johanan, who nowhere, however, makes any public appearance. He may have been the son of another mother, and not much older than Jehoiakim.

when subsequently in power; and this affords a remarkable indication of the high respect of the great bulk of the people for the efforts of the pious king who had just passed away. Jehoahaz, however, was far from fulfilling the hopes which he had excited among the people before his elevation to the throne. He let himself be led away into favouring the heathen party; and though he resisted the insulting demands of the Egyptian king, he allowed himself to be enticed into visiting the Egyptian camp at Riblah, where he was treacherously thrown into chains, and soon afterwards carried away prisoner to Egypt. His fall was precisely like that of the last king of the Ten Tribes.[1] He had only reigned three months, but he seems to have remained alive for a considerable time in Egypt; while the pious in Israel lamented his fate as still worse than his father's.[2]

It is possible that Necho had previously despatched a portion of his army against Judah in order to terrify it into submission. Now that it was without a ruler, he resolved to treat it as a conquered country; he imposed on it a fine of one hundred talents of silver and one talent of gold,[3] and placed on the throne as his vassal the late king's elder brother Eliakim, who reigned under the name Jehoiakim.[4] Under conditions so ignominious, this prince still seems to have followed not unwillingly in the steps of his half-brother. He devoted himself with his whole soul to the heathen party, reintroduced all the various forms of idolatrous worship formerly extirpated by Josiah, and added Egyptian rites to their number.[5] These

[1] P. 164.

[2] Jer. xxii. 10 sq. He is also alluded to in Ez. xix. 2–4, in the elegy on the princes of Israel.

[3] Even ancient readers found a difficulty in the disproportion between the gold and the silver; hence Tanchûm, on 1 Sam. xiii. 1, thought that the word *hundred* should be understood as repeated; but the same reading is found in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3 and Ezr. Apocr. [1. Esdras] i. 36, and the Egyptian had doubtless his reasons for not proceeding too severely against Judah, especially when he was tearing all the adjacent territories from it.

[4] Necho may have come up himself to Jerusalem to instal his vassal; the brief words in 2 Kings xxiii. 33 sq. indicate this (in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3 מְמְלַךְ has fallen out before בירושלם), and there are no other historical traces to contradict it. This explains the attempts of previous scholars to make out that the great city Kadytis, which Necho is said by Herodot. ii. 159 to have taken after the battle, was Jerusalem. But the description of the situation of this city which is given by Herodot. iii. 5, clearly does not apply to Jerusalem, but rather to Gaza, as Hitzig on the whole correctly maintained as early as 1829 (cf. his *Urgeschichte und Mythologie der Philistäer*, p. 95 sqq.) The great difficulty arises here that Gaza, so far as we know, never had any other name. Perhaps the harbour of the city, which in later times was called by the Egyptian name Maiumâs or Maimas (see Wâqidi, *de Mesop. Expugn.* p. 5), went in the time of Herodotus by the name Kadytis, and he applied it to the town as well. According to Steph. Byz. the Milesian Hecataeus named a great Syrian city Κάνυτις and Κάρδυτος.

[5] This results from the description in Ezek. viii. 7–13.

latter had never been adopted again since the primitive ages of the nation; and they were evidently introduced now simply by the slavish spirit of a particular party which looked for protection and help from Egypt. Jehoiakim had, besides, a passion for building splendid and costly houses; and as he esteemed his own position secure under the protection of a superior power, he did not scruple severely to oppress his more helpless subjects, and wring from them as much money as possible. One of his very first acts was to devote himself with readiness to collecting the fine which Necho had imposed upon the country, by an extraordinary contribution in the form of a poll-tax levied on all the inhabitants, not even the most necessitous being exempt; and further steps in a similar direction were taken under this empty-minded prince, to whom the administration of justice was a matter of no concern. The difference between him and his father was everywhere remarked with deep sorrow.[1] When, at a festival in the temple in the beginning of his reign, Jeremiah had spoken earnest words to the assembled people, and had predicted the speedy destruction even of the temple, he was denounced by numbers of the prophets, priests, and princes, and owed the preservation of his life only to the powerful protection of Ahikam, son of Shaphan.[2] Another prophet, Urijah of Kirjath-jearim, who had used similar language, was sent for by the king all the way from Egypt, whither he had fled with a timidity certainly not free from blame, and disgracefully executed.[3] But there soon occurred events unexpected and gloomy enough to disturb the ease of this indolent prince.

2. While on one side of the Euphrates the Egyptian king was subjugating Judah and other kingdoms of the kind which were for the most part still weaker, the conquest of Nineveh, already twice attempted in vain,[4] was being completed upon the other. On two earlier occasions the Medes had made great efforts to overthrow this last remnant of Assyrian dominion, and they prosecuted their object with renewed activity now that their king Cyaxares had succeeded in rendering the Scythians still in his dominions perfectly harmless by exterminating their leaders. This affords an easy explanation of their readiness to ascribe to themselves alone the final achievement of the conquest of Nineveh and the destruction of the Assyrian empire.[5] We know, however, from other sources, that the Babylonians or

[1] Jer. xxii. 13–19 compared with 2 Kings xxiii. 33, 35.
[2] P. 233 sq.
[3] Jer. xxvi.; compare cc. vii.–x.
[4] P. 227 sq.
[5] As in Herodot. i. 106, 185.

rather the Chaldeans also took a very active part in it, and that they divided with the Medes the former possessions of Assyria, receiving for themselves dominion over all the countries on the west of the Euphrates and Tigris, while the ruins of Nineveh, which lay on the opposite bank of the Tigris, remained in the hands of the Medes. This partition is just alluded to by Herodotus with a brief passing word.[1]

The rapid rise of the Chaldeo-Babylonian power which, for nearly a century from this time, had the largest share in determining the outward destinies of Israel, presents a problem which the deficiency of our authorities only permits us to solve in part. Babylon and Nineveh were, as far back as we can trace, two imperial cities in constant rivalry; they considered themselves connected in their origin, and their histories were most closely intertwined. Babylon boasted that it had been the home of the founder of the Assyrian Nineveh;[2] but the latter ruled the former for centuries. Both were certainly at first of Semitic stock; but it is clear not only from the indications already specified,[3] but also from the appearance of a people possessing so many peculiarities as the Chaldeans, that at a period which we can no longer fix with precision but which probably coincides with the commencement of the Assyrian supremacy,[4] first Nineveh and then Babylon was subdued by a foreign military race. Originally, no doubt, the Chaldeans were quite a different race, and inhabited a district north of Assyria, where many of their descendants were found dispersed in after times.[5] They quitted this district as a powerful tribe, and came southwards to Nineveh and Babylon. The names of the Assyrian kings from the time of Pul and of the Babylonian after Nabonassar have obvious affinities, and do not point to an original Aramean stock.[6] The fact, however, that the name of the Chaldeans remained attached specially to Babylon alone and not to Nineveh, is explicable from the very different histories of the two cities just at the very time when the Assyrian empire was sinking deeper and deeper. But this settlement of a Chaldean tribe in Nineveh and Babylon must have taken place

[1] 'The Medes subjugated the Assyrians πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης,' Herodot. i. 106.

[2] Gen. x. 8–12, according to the true explanation.

[3] P. 149 sq.

[4] P. 149 sq.

[5] Besides the well-known *loca probantia* see the *History of Vartan*, translated by Neumann (Lond. 1832), p. 47, 62, 101, 105.

[6] The names of the two sons of Sennacherib (p. 188) are certainly Aramaic; and Adrammelech is probably only a contraction of אֲדַרְמֶלֶךְ (on Hadrach as a Damascene god cf., also, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1856, p. 665); but they sound like an innovation in their series.—On the later views of the immigration of the Chaldeans cf. Chwolson's *Ssabier*, ii. p. 606.

centuries before the period in the history of the two cities known to us; for in this, as has been said, it has no place.[1] The Chaldeans in Babylon, where a separate quarter of the city was reserved for them, acquired in these later ages such high culture that, even after their kingdom had been destroyed, they continued to enjoy the greatest respect as Wise Men, especially as astrologers and priests, so that the ordinary residents were called Babylonians, the Wise Men and priests Chaldeans;[2] and while thus devoted on the one hand to learning, and plunged on the other into commerce and the pursuit of gain,[3] Babylon became in both respects a highly unwarlike city. For a century past it had made repeated attempts to throw off the Assyrian supremacy,[4] but these had never succeeded for any considerable time. Some fresh blow must, therefore, have been inflicted which gave so sudden and successful an impetus to the Chaldean power in Babylon as to enable it to occupy the place of Assyria towards the countries west of the Tigris, and co-operate for the destruction of Nineveh. According to the indications which we at present possess the course of events was as follows.

1) The incursion of the Scythians at first caused the most violent commotion, as has been shown above, in the whole of southern Asia; and Sarak, the last king of Nineveh (whom many later Greeks confound with Sardanapalus), on the first intelligence of the march of the barbarians against Babylon, immediately despatched one of the most valiant of his generals, the Chaldean Nabopolassar, to protect this wealthy city.[5] This happened in the year 625 B.C. according to the Canon of Ptolemy; and Nabopolassar soon became the actual founder of a new Chaldean power. Neither the Assyrians[6] nor the Chaldeans settled in Babylon ever ceased to employ warlike nomadic peoples for their own advantage, so long as they had an empire to defend; thus the Chaldeans mentioned in the book of Job[7] are evidently merely a plundering tribe which had attached itself to the Chaldeans in Babylon, and carried on predatory expeditions in their name, of which there may have been many at the commencement of the seventh century, when the book of Job was written. Accordingly, in attracting and training the roving Scythians and perhaps other nomadic peoples of his

[1] Surely no further attempts will be made to deduce an immigration of the Chaldeans into Babylon about the time of Nabonassar from Is. xxiii. 13.

[2] Herodot. i. 181, 183; but compare vii. 63.

[3] It is called 'the city of merchants,' Ezek. xvi. 29, xvii. 4; both charges are brought against it in the satirical ode on Babylon, Is. xlvii.

[4] P. 187 sqq.

[5] Abydenus in Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. p. 56, where the name Busalossor is a corruption of Nabupolassar.

[6] P. 228 sq.

[7] Job. i. 17.

time, Nabopolassar seems to have been much more successful than the lords of Nineveh; at any rate, some phenomena of the age warrant us in drawing this conclusion with great probability. In the prophetic utterances of Habakkuk, the description of the Chaldeans who were then for the first time seen in the holy land, mingles the traits of two wholly different nations. There is, on the one hand, a wild and warlike race, described in terms applicable at that time only to the Scythians;[1] and there is a people practised in the arts of life, in the erection of costly structures, and the skilful besieging of fortresses, all of which involve the long existence of a high civilisation such as the Chaldeans settled in Babylon at that time possessed.[2] In the same way Jeremiah, who comes in the period of the rise of the Chaldeo-Babylonian power, imperceptibly transfers the colours in which he had previously depicted the Scythians, to the representation of the Chaldean warriors.[3] And Ezekiel expressly distinguishes 'all the Chaldeans,' with their motley army of different warlike peoples, from the Babylonians;[4] and he could not have intentionally represented the Chaldeans by the circumlocution of Magog and the rest of the nations of the far north, had they not augmented their forces as a conquering nation by nomadic tribes of Scythians.[5]

2) As soon, however, as Nabopolassar had established his dominion over Babylon, and had in this way placed himself in a military position which inspired terror, he directed his regards to the complete destruction of the decaying empire in Nineveh itself. With this object he formed a closer alliance with the Median king Cyaxares, whose granddaughter he received in marriage for his son and heir Nebuchadnezzar,[6] more correctly

[1] See above, p. 229; similarly, the Chaldeans are called *the worst nations* in Ezek. vii. 24.

[2] The art of conducting a siege possessed by the Babylonians is often prominently alluded to by Ezek. iv. 2, xvii. 17, xxi. 27, xxvi. 8 sq. See also the *Propheten des A. B.* vol. ii. The great buildings of Nabuchodrozzor's time, however, are known to us from Herodot. i. 185 sqq., and the passages of Berosus to be cited below.

[3] Jer. viii. 14–17, ix. 20 [21], x. 17, 22, xii. 7–12, xiii. 20, xv. 8, and especially xxv. 9, compared with the passages mentioned p. 229 sq.

[4] Ezek. xxiii. 23, cf. xvii. 3, xxx. 11; similarly Berosus in Joseph. *Contr. Apion.* i. 19.

[5] P. 229 sq.

[6] This pronunciation of the name has become very prevalent in modern times through the Masoretic punctuation; the original, however, is better represented by that which has passed from the LXX into almost all Greek books, Ναβουχοδονόσορ; the most correct form is that of Nabuchodrozzor, preserved in the Hebrew text in the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as well as in the extracts from older sources in Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. p. 44 sq., 55 sqq.; G. Syncellus, i. p. 416. ed. Bonn; the penultimate *r* of this last form might easily be changed into *n*. The Persian-Arabs finally transformed the name into بخت النصر, as though it meant 'joy of victory.' The name of the Median consort, on the other hand, appears in various narrators in the most widely different forms, compare Herodot. i. 185–188 with Alex. Polyhistor and Abydenus in Euseb, *Chron. Arm.* i. p. 44, 54, G. Syncellus *Chronogr.* i. p. 396. It is surprising that

Nebuchodrozzor. The two allied kings seem to have come to the understanding beforehand that all the territory on the west of the Tigris, together with the southern mountain district of Elam on the east, should fall to Babylon; and in order to make each step quite secure, the king of Egypt also was evidently allowed to share at first in the plunder of the ancient monarchy.[1] Nineveh, accordingly, succumbed at last to the united attacks of the Medes and Babylonian Chaldeans. This probably took place at the same time that Necho was pushing his conquests in Palestine and Syria,[2] when he advanced as far as Carchemish on the Euphrates, and occupied that city, which was rendered important by its situation.[3] No empire, however, between the Tigris and Euphrates which felt itself strong could allow the Egyptian power to establish itself in Syria without endangering its own; and after the fall of Nineveh the new Chaldean power soon found itself able to dispute all the recent conquests of the Egyptians. The possession of Carchemish opened the way for them into the heart of Mesopotamia, while the Chaldeans readily found many pretexts for considering themselves the rightful heirs of the Assyrian monarchy, at least as far as all territories west of the Tigris were concerned, while they were inclined to treat the Egyptian king merely as a satrap placed by their authority over Egypt, Syria, and Phœnicia.[4] Accordingly, after Necho had reigned about four years in Syria, the two powers met at Carchemish for the decisive struggle. With the best equipped of his troops, collected from

Herodotus should not know of the most famous king of Babylon; he seems to ascribe his achievements partly to queen Nitocris and partly to a king whom he calls Labynetus I., see Herodot. i. 188, cf. i. 73 sq., 103 sq.; in that case the latter name is only abbreviated from Nabuchodonosor.

[1] That Necho did not at first intend to march against the Chaldeans and Medes but against the Assyrians as the ancient enemies of Egypt, is implied in the words 2 Kings xxiii. 29, and accords entirely with the general course of the history. The later representation in 2 Chron. xxxv. 20–23 of this event, as of so many others, is much more free; it rather estimates the disaster of the good Josiah in accordance with the result, and even makes the Egyptian king give a correct divine warning to Josiah; cf. above, p. 242.

[2] No ancient authority hitherto discovered supplies us with the exact date of the fall of Nineveh; no further conclusion can be drawn from Herodot. i. 106 than that the eighteen years of the Scythian supremacy in Asia, a period which, however, can evidently only refer first of all to Media, and which was followed by the fall of Nineveh, must be placed some time after the commencement and before the end of the reign of the Median Cyaxares. But as the conquest of Nineveh, at which, according to Abydenus in Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. p. 54, Sarak burned himself in the palace, cannot fall before the period above assigned, it cannot, in the same way, fall any later. With this Alex. Polyhistor, cited in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 39, is in the closest agreement, though he has evidently made use of an Apocryphon of Jeremiah.

[3] Carchemish is directly mentioned in 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, and the Euphrates as equivalent to it in 2 Kings xxiii. 29.

[4] Such is the expression of Berosus in the long statement in Jos. *Ant.* x. 11. 1, and *Contr. Apion.* i. 19; this habit of speech was natural to him as a Chaldean historian.

his remote dominions in Africa, Necho proudly marched to this fortress,[1] but the young hero Nabuchodrozzor, who, on account of his father's declining years, took the field against him, completely defeated him, and immediately advanced victoriously into Syria. There was no place here where the Egyptians could face him in battle; and Judah, with all the rest of the south-western countries of Asia, would have been compelled to seek the protection of the Chaldean power thus suddenly sprung up, had not Necho most opportunely succeeded in taking by storm the important border fortress of Gaza, and thereby barred the road to Egypt.[2] Moreover, the death of Nabopolassar in the year 605 B.C. recalled the conqueror heavily laden with spoil and hostages to Babylon, before he could carry the pursuit so far.

3) The kingdom of Judah, therefore, so far as we know,[3] still remained free from the Chaldean supremacy, especially as the Egyptians were easily able to invade the confines of Judah from their strong fortress at Gaza. Jeremiah, however, who gloriously maintains throughout his career the penetration of his gaze into the future, and who, before the battle of Carchemish, had predicted the overthrow of the Egyptian and the rise of the Chaldean power, now proclaimed publicly that Judah, with the other nations far down into Arabia, would soon become subject to Nabuchodrozzor, and an entirely new empire of the world would be established. He caused the contents of his previous addresses, along with this latest announcement and the earnest admonition involved in it, to be committed to writing by his assistant Baruch, whom he directed to read aloud the book thus produced at the next assembly of the people in the temple; for at that time he could not think of doing this himself, probably because his protector Ahikam[4] forbade him to appear in

[1] This is clear from the description Jer. xlvi. 1–12; Jeremiah had predicted the fall of the Egyptian power, but evidently did not write out this address in its present form until after the event.

[2] Jer. xlvii.; Necho was then, to a great extent, the means of bringing about that disaster with which Jeremiah had threatened the Philistines before this bloody capture of Gaza, which explains the title ver. 1. If, according to p. 252 *note* 4, this is the conquest of Gaza alluded to in Herodot. ii. 159, the interpretation of this simply is that, instead of enumerating all the other events of Necho's career, the first and the last of his famous achievements in Syria are brought close together, which, in a popular narrative for the most part so brief, cannot be surprising.

[3] In 2 Kings xxiv. 1 the year in which Jehoiakim was obliged to submit to the Chaldeans is not specified distinctly enough, since we do not know the duration of the revolt after the three years of this subjection. The context shows that these three years should probably be understood as the last of his reign of eleven years, as Josephus, *Ant.* x. 6. 1, assumes; and, at any rate, as late as the fifth year of this reign, according to Jer. xxxvi. 9, the Chaldeans were not yet masters of the country. Berosus has evidently contracted everything too much, and no weight at all is to be attached to the representation of G. Syncellus, *Chron.* i. p. 418.

[4] P. 252.

public.[1] The compilation of this book extended from the fourth to the fifth year of Jehoiakim. In the ninth month of this year a royal decree summoned the whole people to assemble for a great fast day in the temple, plainly because Jehoiakim was apprehensive of the immediate approach of the Chaldeans, but thought such a disaster could still perhaps be averted. Baruch took this opportunity to read aloud Jeremiah's book in the temple. He was, however, immediately accused of being a disturber of the peace, whose object was to frighten the people about the certain hostile advance of the Chaldeans; so that the king, on hearing of it, not merely had the book burned, but gave orders for the arrest of Jeremiah and Baruch.[2] Such were the violent measures by which this Egyptian vassal desired to smother the popular dread of a great impending change in the situation. As soon, however, as Nabuchodrozzor had established himself in his new dignity at Babylon, he made a fresh victorious invasion of Syria. Inhabitants of the desert and settlers who, under other circumstances, paid but rare visits to Jerusalem, soon fled for shelter before the pressure of the Chaldean armies to this great fortified city;[3] and Jehoiakim, left in the lurch by the Egyptians, was obliged, in the eighth year of his reign at the latest, to submit to the supremacy of the Chaldean monarch. The latter, after subjugating Damascus and the other Aramean kingdoms on the west of the Euphrates, had by this time Arameans also enrolled among his troops.[4]

III. The Chaldean Vassalage.—The First Revolt.

1. Judah had now exchanged one foreign supremacy for another which was much more dangerous to its own independence. Every great monarchy, which, like the Chaldean, has newly arisen, will probably, in order to consolidate its power, act towards subject nations with far less consideration than an ancient empire like Egypt, which can find honour and glory enough in itself without resort to conquest. Nabuchodrozzor was, at the same time, certainly the greatest general of his age. Such extraordinary accounts of his warlike prowess reached even the later Greeks that Megasthenes compared him with the Greek Heracles.[5] Even contemporary

[1] Cf. Jer. xlvi. 2, xxv. 1, xxxvi. 1, xlv. 1; in all of which passages the fourth year of Jehoiakim is specified.

[2] Jer. xxxvi.

[3] Jer. xxxv. 1–11; compare above, p. 79 sq.

[4] According to Jer. xxxv. 11 compared with xlix. 23–27; see also Ezek. xvi. 57.

[5] Strabo xv. 1, 6, and Joseph. *Ant.* x. 11. 1 (according to which the Latin translation in G. Syncellus' *Chronogr.* i. p. 419 ed. Bonn, is incorrect).

writers so moderate as Jeremiah call him the lion who, strengthened by Jahveh himself, throws down everything with irresistible might; or again, the eagle who, with swift flight, seizes on the prey which cannot escape.[1] And while this 'king of kings' was then ruling in the vigour of his early manhood, his wild warriors were soon the terror of all weaker nations, so that it became a proverb that a handful of them, lying wounded, were more dreaded than whole armies of others.[2] And Babylon, the seat of this sovereign who so ruthlessly annihilated every hostile object, received the name of the hammer that smote the whole earth.

No true prophet, therefore, could look into the future and survey with other than melancholy misgivings the destiny impending over Israel at the hands of the Chaldeans. Still less could he promise speedy deliverance from their sway, or with such false assurances encourage revolt against them. When they had occupied Judah for a considerable time, and had ill-treated the unhappy country which had already suffered severely under the unprincipled rule of Jehoiakim, a general cry of terror at the increasing adversity of God's beloved people rose up to heaven; and Habakkuk, who seems to have been a young prophet of the day, and at the same time a priest of high rank, with a special training in the law,[4] possessed of deep feeling, the most vivid imagination and glowing patriotism, felt himself called in these straits to labour in the manner and spirit of the older prophets. This is the origin of the little work which has come down to us. It contains the effort of a

[1] Jer. xlix. 19, xxv. 38, xlviii. 40, xlix. 22; cf. Ezek. xvii. 3, 7. Other forcible images are found in Jer. xlvi. 18, Ezek. xxxi. 11.

[2] Jer. xxxvii. 10.

[3] These and other very powerful figures may be found in the compositions of the unknown prophet Jer. l. 23; cf. ver. 17, li. 34, also li. 24 sq., 49.

[4] That he was closely connected with the temple service, and was especially charged with the administration of justice, may be easily gathered from his language. At the very beginning, i. 2–4, he laments on behalf of the whole people the cruel interruption of justice which had lasted so long and was so deeply felt, and almost loses himself in these melancholy reflections; but then in vv. 5–10 he suddenly gathers himself up, passes from mere dull complaint to cast a prophetic glance around him to discover the cause of the misery he had described, and points to the approach of the Chaldeans which an earlier prophet had already predicted, (the violent transition in ver. 5 may be best explained by supposing that the prophet here essentially quotes the words of some earlier prophet, as though with the object of pointing out at the same time that their fulfilment had now become manifest:) until, after referring to the equally evident transgression by the Chaldeans beyond the divine commission which had been given to them, he falls back in vv. 11–17 into lament. Hence he does not begin till ii. 1 to explain what he himself as prophet specially discerns. This is the only complete explanation of the difficulties of c. i, and אָז in ver. 11 is, as in some other passages, equivalent to *yet*, Lat. *at*. And as the prophet who had, at an earlier date, uttered the words in vv. 5–10, was then certain to be known by everyone, no obscurity is involved in the general conjunction of the three main divisions of c. i.

deep prophetic spirit, united with the most beautiful language, to lay before the whole people the noblest consolation which those dark days afforded, in terms as vivid as those of that inward struggle by which, after the agitation of the most varied feelings, it had itself found peace. Yet in the midst of the lament which struggles for utterance over the injustice of the age, and the appearance, then tolerably recent, of the cruel Chaldeans, he has no speedy deliverance to promise to the people of Jahveh. On the other hand, the more boldly he penetrates with his questions and his search into the secret of the true and hidden God, the more surely does he recognise, as in a heavenly vision, that while the Chaldean empire, even in its origin and first movements, bears within itself the germ of certain dissolution,—just as Jeremiah had, some years earlier, predicted the deliverance of all nations, in an age not too remote, from this heathen supremacy which was then properly beginning,[1]—yet for the present the people of Jahveh were incapable of undertaking or achieving any opposition, and only firm trust, therefore, and faithful persistence in righteousness, i.e. in the true divine life, could possibly preserve all those who did not depart from it. As Habakkuk attempts in this way to unfold clearly the most varied aspirations, fears, and hopes, the presentment of his thoughts takes a genuine dramatic form, similar to representations within a smaller scope by older prophets;[2] and thus the higher art of literature among the ancient people appears once more in him.[3]

The teaching of Jeremiah at that time must certainly have been the same as that of Habakkuk, if with more smothered hope. But Jehoiakim and the majority of his nobles could not rise to this purity of trust and life. After preferring for three years to be a vassal of the Chaldeans, he openly revolted against them. He was, no doubt, incited to this course by the Egyptians, who still continued to occupy Gaza, and were at that very time advancing with fresh armies against the Chaldeans;[4] and he was also vigorously supported, it is clear, by the most important portion of his nobles and subjects. This rising is the first step in the violent catastrophe of the tragedy. The nation saw too late the abyss into which it was destined to precipitate itself. It still sought to save itself, but in this rash revolt from the Chaldean power every cir-

[1] See Jer. xxv. with his kindred utterances, also xii. 1ō.

[2] As in Hos. xiv. 2–10 [1–9], Mic. vi. sq.

[3] Cf. the *Dichter des A. B.* i. p. 83 sq. of the new edition.

[4] This follows clearly from the short sentence in which the end of this revolt and of Jehoiakim's life is described, 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

cumstance was necessarily against it. 'On account of the anger of Jahveh did this come upon Judah,' is the expression of the ancient narrative;[1] nor can any briefer judgment be pronounced upon it. Nabuchodrozzor resolved, accordingly, not only to drive the Egyptians, who may have gained some advantages, entirely out of Asia, but also to inflict severe punishment on the faithless Jehoiakim and his people. The subjugation of Northern Syria, which he had by this time completely effected, enabled him to excite the Damascenes and other Syrians, with the Ammonites and Moabites in their train, who were dependent on Damascus, and were, at the same time, the well-known hereditary enemies of Israel, to take part in the war with their troops, which were ever ready for spoil. From the other side of the Tigris, Nabuchodrozzor brought into the field the Elamite archers, the dread of whom dated from the Assyrian period, and whose wild war-fury once more stamped itself deeply in the memory of Israel.[2] How could Judah succeed in offering a permanent resistance, in a war against which it had been warned by the true prophets, few though they might be, and under such a king as Jehoiakim? The miserable end of this king, which Jeremiah had predicted long beforehand, speedily came about in the course of the war. When the Chaldean army presented themselves at the gates of the capital, he seems to have been betrayed into the same error as his brother, eleven years before, and to have given ear to a crafty invitation of the enemy to repair for negotiations to their camp, where, in sight of his own city, he was made prisoner. Then probably he offered a frantic resistance, was dragged away in a scuffle, and miserably cut down; as even an honourable burial for his corpse, which his family must certainly have solicited, was contumeliously refused.[3] Instead of cowing the people of Jerusalem, such treachery and cruelty seem to have had the reverse effect of only provoking them to more vigorous

[1] This is the way in which the words in 2 Kings xxiv. 3 are to be understood; in this verse, however, according to ver. 20, xxiii. 26, אַף should be read for עַל.

[2] According to Jer. xlix. 34–39; cf. Is. xxii. 6.

[3] The particulars of Jehoiakim's death are very obscure. The standing phrase 'he slept with his fathers,' 2 Kings xxiv. 6, simply indicates his death; that he was taken prisoner is stated in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. We may, however, gather the circumstances with some amount of probability from the words chosen by Jeremiah xxii. 18 sq., xxxvi. 30, since, while the prophet had certainly predicted long beforehand the king's miserable end, these words in their present form were not written down till after the event. The conjecture of J. D. Michaelis that he was honourably buried in Jerusalem, and after its conquest three months later was then cast out of his grave by order of the Chaldeans, is contrary to the language of Jer. xxii. 19, and is further improbable for this reason, that in Jer. viii. 1 sq. the same thing is predicted of the bones of all the kings; so that in that case there would be nothing special stated of Jehoiakim.

resistance. They did not yet feel themselves so base as to endure every humiliation in silence; besides Jerusalem, many other fortresses of the country still defied the attacks even of so wild a foe; and it was still perhaps hoped that Egypt might supply active aid.

2. Such was the state of public feeling when Coniah, the son of the king who had come to so shameful an end, was called to the throne at the age of eighteen years, under the name Jehoiachin.[1] Energetically supported by his mother, who was a native of Jerusalem, as well as by the majority of the nobles, and still more by the excited eagerness of the people, he continued to resist the Chaldeans. This young prince, though obliged to accommodate himself to the prevailing confusion in religion, was not, however, without good qualities which inspired many better hopes.[2] His government secured more confidence at Jerusalem than his father's,[3] and he was therefore the more regretted when he was shortly afterwards carried away into exile at that early age. During the three months of his reign, Jeremiah, now released from the persecutions suspended over him by Jehoiakim, sought in bolder language to put before the people the true cause of their protracted sufferings; and though he almost despaired of any deliverance for the present, yet he strove once more to exhort them urgently to be truly loyal to Jahveh's covenant.[4] But the melancholy presentiment which Jeremiah entertained[5] about the young king and his mother, who had taken such an active part in the government, was speedily accomplished.

[1] The former was his previous name, the latter assumed on his accession; as in the corresponding case of Jehoahaz (p. 251), this is to be inferred from the comparison of the two principal witnesses, Jer. xxii. 24, 28, xxiv. 1, xxxvii. 1, and 2 Kings xxiv. 8–15; the royal name is not only, however, in use everywhere else, but, like the form נבוכדנאצר, has found its way into Jer. xxvi.–xxix. by the hand of a different transcriber which may be traced in these chapters; cf. the *Propheten des A. B.* ii. p. 24 [ii. p. 89, 2nd ed.; vol. iii. Trans.].

[2] The truth of this double statement is confirmed on either side by 2 Kings xxiv. 9 and Jer. xxii. 20–30, Lam. iv. 20, cf. ii. 9; he is also probably the author of Pss. xlii. sq., lxxxiv., which express such intense feeling. The portrait which Ezekiel sketches of him without mentioning his name, xix. 5–9, seems to characterise him as a very violent and destructive sovereign; but it is to be borne in mind that Ezekiel selected the two kings Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin from purely artistic considerations, because the former was carried captive to the west, the latter to the east, so that the fate of each was different, and yet essentially the same. In his view, however, they were representative of all the others, so that he could describe them with greater freedom. Were it not said distinctly in ver. 5, and in opposition to xvii. 13, that this king was chosen by Judah itself, it might be preferable to refer the whole to Zedekiah; which would then, as a prediction, agree still better with xii. 12, xvii. 16–21.

[3] One of the gates of Jerusalem continued to bear his name, *M. Middôt*, ii. 6 *ad fin.* How warmly he was still commemorated in an annual celebration in the temple at the time of Josephus, is described in the *Bell. Jud.* vi. 2. 1.

[4] Jer. xi.–xiii.

[5] Jer. xiii. 18, cf. xxii. 26, xxix. 2; 2 Kings xxiv. 8, 12, 15.

Immediately after Jehoiachin's accession, the Egyptians were completely driven out of Asia.[1] The fortresses of Judah south of Jerusalem were rigidly invested; and vast crowds of Judahites were carried off from the lowlands as prisoners.[2] Jerusalem was also beset more and more closely;[3] and at length Nabuchodrozzor, victorious in the south over the Egyptians, arrived at the capital of Judah, to push forward its reduction.[4] Upon this, the court determined to surrender at discretion; but Nabuchodrozzor's discretion did not allow him to practise much mercy. The young king and his mother, with all his principal officers and the members of his court, were condemned to exile in Babylon. All the trained troops stationed in Jerusalem,[5] amounting to seven thousand, with a thousand craftsmen attached to them for military purposes of every description,[6] as well as the principal men of every class, the heads of noble families throughout the country, of the priestly order as of every other, were sentenced to exile; some were banished to Babylon, and some to other provinces of the Chaldean empire which could be relied upon.[7] The total number of those who were deported from Judah and Jerusalem, under this convention alone, was reckoned at ten thousand.[8] Among the captives was Ezekiel, who subsequently became so famous as a prophet; at this time he was, certainly, still a youth, but, as son of a priest of the highest rank, the aspirations even of his early years were high. In addition to this, the victor emptied the royal treasury, and carried off from the temple its wealth and its most valuable vessels, the gold with which the

[1] This follows from 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

[2] Jer. xiii. 19.

[3] On this occasion the graves of many nobles were brutally violated by the conqueror, as we may infer from Jer. viii. 1 sq., Bar. ii. 24. It follows from Ezek. xxiv. 21, 25, that the nobles then carried away were simply to serve as hostages.

[4] 2 Kings xxiv. 10 sq.

[5] Jerusalem is mentioned alone, 2 Kings xxiv. 14.

[6] As the context of the words in 2 Kings xxiv. 16, cf. ver. 14, requires that the words החרש והמסגר should stand in the closest connexion with the trained troops, we must either take the expression to mean (as was my opinion in 1840) the *fabri* and *frumentatores*, of each of which a corps was attached to every Roman legion also, or, what I should now prefer, the military workmen and siege engineers (from הסגיר, to shut up, cf. Jer. xiii. 19), the latter of whom must, of course, have been of importance also in the defence of a city. Their large number and the importance attached to them by Nabuchodrozzor are thus capable of being more easily explained.

[7] Thus Ezekiel was deported to Tel-abib on the Chebar; this river cannot have been on the other side of the Tigris (since all the northern country on the left bank was at that time, according to p. 257, in the possession of the Medes); it must be the well-known Chaboras in Mesopotamia. 'Babylon,' therefore, 2 Kings xxiv. 15 sq. stands in its wider meaning for all the country between the Euphrates and Tigris.

[8] Ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, according to Josephus; this number was probably made up by the erroneous addition of the eight hundred and thirty-two captives mentioned in Jer. lii. 29.

larger articles of furniture had been overlaid by Solomon being actually stripped off; and these temple vessels were the things most regretted at Jerusalem in the next few years.[1] Nabuchodrozzor, however, determined to leave the kingdom to exist a little longer, probably because he was pledged by some promise made at the surrender of the city. He accordingly transferred the sovereighty over the ruins of the realm to Mattaniah, the youngest son of Josiah, then twenty-one years of age. The third and last son of Josiah[2] now succeeded his father, adopting on his accession the name of Zedekiah.

IV. The Second Revolt.—The Destruction of the Kingdom.

1. After the revolt against the Chaldeans had come to such a bitter end, it might have been expected that the shadow of the ancient kingdom which Nabuchodrozzor had thought fit not wholly to destroy, would not have made any further movement. The Chaldeans had done almost everything in their power to prevent a fresh rising of this strange nation. 'Only the lower classes of the people did the Chaldeans leave in the land,' says the book of Kings,[3] a statement which is not, however, to be interpreted too literally, as there were many exceptions among the upper classes who were permitted to remain behind, either by special favour on the part of the Chaldeans, or to form the official and court circle of the new king. Nothing, however, so clearly shows the extent to which the best men from the upper classes had been already despatched by the

[1] Cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 13 with Jer. xxvii. 16, 18–22, xxviii. 3–6, Bar. i. 8, Dan. i. 2, v. 2 sq. The account in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7 (cf. ver. 10), which is much abbreviated, in representing such temple vessels as being carried off to Babylon at the fall of Jehoiakim, evidently involves a confusion and repetition of the same event. The confusion of the two kings is made still worse in Dan. i. 1 sq., where Jehoiakim is carried away to Babylon with the nobles of his people and the vessels of the temple in the third year of his reign; this third year, however, could only have been originally the third of his Chaldean vassalage. Josephus, also, *Ant.* x. 6. 3, 7. 1, confounds the history in representing the Chaldean monarch as entering Jerusalem while Jehoiakim was still on the throne, and carrying off from there about three thousand nobles, among whom was Ezekiel; cf. Ezek. i. 2. The names Joakim and Joachin might easily be interchanged, especially after a mistake of this sort had crept into Matt. i. 11; see, for instance, Epiphanius' *Opp.* i. p. 21, ed. Petav.

[2] In the enumeration 1 Chron. iii. 15, he appears distinctly as the third son before Shallum (p. 251) who is fourth, whereas, according to the ages given in the book of Kings, he was about thirteen or fifteen years younger. But the ages of the book of Kings are evidently to be depended upon, and must be treated as decisive. A perverted statement from the Chronicles is found in G. Syncellus, i. p. 412.—According to the book of Kings he was own brother of Jehoiakim; in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10, on the other hand, he is confused with a namesake, 1 Chron. iii. 16, and called a brother of the previous king.

[3] 2 Kings xxiv. 14; cf. the plural in Jer. lii. 15.

Chaldeans across the Euphrates, as the fact that in all the years of the second, and, if it be insisted on, of the third revolt, put together, they found only four thousand six hundred men more whom they thought worth the trouble of transporting.[1] Moreover, many of the most important and defiant Judahites had fled to Egypt, from aversion to the Chaldean supremacy.[2] As soon as ever it appeared that there was no course left but to choose the dominion of one or other, Egypt, familiar as the country of an ancient and high civilisation, might well seem far preferable to the modern origin and the frightful rigour of the Chaldean monarchy. Exhausted in so many ways, the country required nothing so much as rest; and the new king, consequently, stood from the very first in quite a different position towards the Chaldeans from that of his two predecessors. As he had been raised to the throne solely by the intervention of Nabuchodrozzor, any infringement on his part of the most solemn oath of fealty which he had sworn to him would be absolutely without excuse, and would inevitably bring on the immediate overthrow of the kingdom, if the Chaldeans should be victorious against him.[3]

The profoundly degraded and enfeebled condition to which the kingdom was now condemned by foreigners, acted, however, on many minds as the strongest spur to discontent and new efforts at revolt. It is always the severest penalty imposed on a nation which generates the most strenuous counter-action; and how much more likely was it for this nation to be driven to the most desperate extremity at a time when its ancient faith in external protection by its sole God and in the inviolable sanctity of Jerusalem and the temple—though strongly shaken —was not yet completely confuted by the inexorable logic of events! And this was really the most powerful cause of the frenzied impulse which augmented in strength as the nation began to realise that it was crushed. The general situation of public affairs, however, might easily appear favourable to the hopes of oppressed nationalities, and especially to those of Israel. The nations enslaved by Nabuchodrozzor were everywhere panting for deliverance. This sovereign was at this time very far from being the object of such general dread among the

[1] Jer. lii. 28–30. It is quite as certain, however, that עשרה has fallen out after שבע in ver. 28 as after שמונה in the life of Jehoiachin 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9; for neither the very small number of persons deported, nor the context of the narrative permits us to suppose that the first deportation under Jehoiachin is here intended.

[2] According to Jer. xxiv. 8.

[3] Hence Ezekiel also justly lays great stress on the breach of faith which Zedekiah was about to commit, and by which alone he would merit the severest chastisement at God's hand; xvii. 14, 18, xv. 8, xxi. 30 [25].

many restless peoples whom he had but just subdued, as he subsequently inspired in the second half of his long reign. Everywhere it appeared possible that conspiracies and revolts against him might yet be successful, and what nation could be spurred on by a deeper longing for freedom and a more powerful hope than Israel? The general distress itself contributed to reconcile ancient enmities, especially in the divisions of Israel, both old and new. The exiles carried away by Nabuchodrozzor had formed the aristocracy of Jerusalem; and it seems that another party which may be called the democratic, with quite a different policy, now took the helm of government; and the Chaldeans promoted these internal feuds. And yet in spite of all these disputes, we soon observe the two parties exchanging glances of mutual interest, the former looking with yearning desire to those who still resided in Jerusalem, the latter directing the most eager curiosity to the banished nobles.[1] If all the scattered members of the nation were to unite to seize a favourable moment for achieving their freedom, could not the exiles force their way in troops across the Euphrates, while the others went out to meet them from their native land?

The few true prophets certainly did not share such aspirations, but their warnings and anticipations of the worst were all in vain. There were always plenty of other prophets to proclaim false hopes and to excite passion. It was probably in the first period of Zedekiah's reign that Jeremiah published for the second time his enlarged prophetic book,[2] in which he keenly exposed the emptiness of the hope of a speedy return of the exiles, and on the other hand prophesied of Jehoiachin, whose coming back was much longed for, that neither he nor any of his sons would ever mount the throne of David.[3] And always when any opportunity whatsoever presented itself, as for example, in the severe drought which then lasted several years, Jeremiah, with unwearying fidelity to the higher truth, took up his discourse afresh to the same purport;[4] an offence for which he was put into the stocks for a day by order of a superintendent of the temple.[5] Very different, however, was the language of the false prophets, the number of whom increased

[1] It is on this point that the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel are so instructive; but we learn from Lam. iv. 13–15 that there was also a powerful party in Jerusalem which believed that the exiles would not remain much longer among the heathen.

[2] A second redaction of the work of this kind is probably to be inserted between those mentioned in the *Propheten des A. B.* ii. p. 15 [ii. 79, 2nd ed.; vol. iii. Trans.]. Such pieces as xi.–xiii., xxii. 10–xxiii., xxxv., xxxvi., may have been preserved entirely from that redaction.

[3] Jer. xxii. 30.

[4] Cf. Jer. xiv.–xvii. 18 with xii. 4; and, further, xvii, 19–xx.

[5] Jer. xx. 2–6.

with incredible luxuriance in the stagnation of the age.[1] The king certainly did not mean ill; but he was rather sluggish in the performance of his duties,[2] deficient in penetration into the future, too much at the mercy of the arbitrary determinations of the nobles and the different parties, and far from able to sustain alone the whole burden of such a critical time.

Nor were there wanting additional enticements to a revolt from the Chaldean supremacy. About the third and fourth years of Zedekiah's reign, Nabuchodrozzor had, it seems, to contend in some other quarter, perhaps among the Ammonites, with dangers which were evidently serious. It is sufficient to state that there were then assembled in Jerusalem ambassadors from most of the petty states adjoining, from Edom in the south-east to Tyre and Sidon, with the purpose of stirring up Zedekiah to a general war which they intended to wage against the Chaldeans. So severely did this power oppress all the kingdoms drawn into its net, that even the Ammonites and Moabites, who in the last war had fought against Judah, now came to it to ask for reinforcements against their common foe. Jeremiah, however, uttered the austerest warnings before the king and the nobles, as well as before the people at large and the foreign ambassadors, against any resistance whatever; and with this view he offered to a prophet named Hananiah, who had announced the overthrow of the Chaldeans within two years, such bold and unremitting opposition, that when this prophet died, two months afterwards, many persons discovered in the event a divine token of the detection of the falsehood of his prediction.[3] It was about the same time that Ezekiel, among the exiles beyond the Euphrates, was seized with the prophetic spirit. A younger contemporary of Jeremiah, he laboured with entirely the same prophetic aim; and his mind was accordingly dominated solely by powerful pictures of the approaching destruction of Jerusalem on account of the incorrigible vices of the people in the sacred land.[4] The immediate danger, however, passed by. Zedekiah sent agents to Babylon, probably to pacify Nabuchodrozzor;[5] and followed this up by journeying thither himself,[6] evidently with the purpose of repelling the suspicions disseminated against him, and renewing his allegiance. It is probably from this time also that we must date the introduction of new Zoroastrian religions from Eastern

[1] Cf. Zech. xiii. 2–6; Jer. xxxvii. 19.
[2] Cf. Jeremiah's words xxi. 11 sq., xxii. 1–9.
[3] Jer. xxvii. sq. A very similar example is narrated by Barhebræus of his own opponent, in Assemani's *Bibl. Or.* ii. p. 249 sq.
[4] Ezek. iii. 22–vii.
[5] Jer. xxix. 3.
[6] Jer. li. 59.

Asia into the temple at Jerusalem. This was one of the ways in which Israel displayed its subjection to the spirit of the east, and it was the cause of bitter complaint from Ezekiel.[1]

Some time afterwards, however, new inducements were held out by Egypt. Psammis, Necho's son, under whom the Egyptian conquests in Asia had been completely lost, was succeeded by a very enterprising king named Hophra (in Herodotus Apries). Taking up the ideas of his grandfather, this prince meditated on Asiatic conquests, and readily supported the attempts of an Asiatic nation to liberate themselves from the Chaldean supremacy. Jerusalem, which had always felt itself more drawn to Egypt than to Babylon, was the object of his especial attention. We cannot now trace exactly the means which he employed to gain influence and confidence in Jerusalem; but, in the seventh year of Zedekiah's reign, it began to be said even among the exiles that, relying on Egyptian horses and other auxiliaries, he was planning a revolt from the Chaldean supremacy;[2] and Ezekiel could not contend too vigorously against the false hopes of the immediate success of Zedekiah's rebellion.[3] Zedekiah, however, still hesitated. His hand might well feel the balance of the fate impending over him trembling terribly. The disposition of the nation, also, obviously wavered at this time in the same way, and passed from one extreme to the other. While many who were goaded on by the most burning hatred against the Chaldeans could scarcely await the moment of the outbreak of open rebellion, others were plunged in the deepest despair of Israel's God and the truth of all predictions, and looked with stony gaze into the future.[4]

A similar storm of diverse dispositions and aspirations to that which raged with increasing violence in the sacred land itself over king and people, arose also among the ten thousand exiles beyond the Euphrates. The flower of their nation, they had, besides, passed through the probation of the heavy sorrows of forced expatriation; and they were on the whole thoughtful and sober-minded. It was on them that Jeremiah rested his hope for the more distant future, rather than on the residents left in Jerusalem, or the fugitives in Egypt;[5] although Ezekiel, who lived in their midst, remarked to his great grief that foreign religions were gradually creeping in even among them.[6] Many

[1] Ezek. viii. 14–17, xvi. 29, xxiii. 14–18; according to the series in c. viii. they are the last introduced, the most recent kind of superstition. That the Chaldeans then had Magians is clear from Jer. xxxix. 3.

[2] Ezek. xii.–xx.

[3] Ezek. xii. 1–20, xiv. 12–xv., xvii., xix.; especially xvii. 15.

[4] Jer. xii. 4, cf. Ezek. viii. 12, ix. 9. xii. 22. 27; Jer. xxxi. 29 sq., cf. Ezek. xviii. 2.

[5] Jer. xxiv.

[6] Cf. Ezek. xiv. 3 sqq., xx. 20 sqq.

of the most beautiful Psalms which depict with such fresh vividness the painful feelings so unique in antiquity of compulsory separation from[1] the sanctuary and the sacred land, their sufferings from the scorn they had to endure at the hands of the heathen, and the difficulty under such circumstances of remaining faithful to the higher religion, are certainly to be ascribed to such exiles in these, or, some of them, in earlier times.[1] It was, however, just this tormenting yearning which took such intense possession of the exiles in the first ages that they lived in perpetual disquiet, that some of the prophets who arose among them took advantage of to excite vain hopes of speedy deliverance and mistrust of the Chaldean supremacy. The malcontents on either side of the Euphrates were evidently in connexion with each other, and thereby only aggravated still further the perils of the time. In the third year of the exile Jeremiah addressed a prophetic epistle to them, with earnest exhortations to them to settle down calmly; but he was obliged to endure being severely denounced for it by the visionaries at Babylon to the visionaries in high places at Jerusalem.[2] When however, the agitators in Jerusalem perceived that their banished fellow-countrymen did not make any rising on a large scale, nor ventured to render them any support, especially after Nabuchodrozzor had executed the false prophets among them,[3] they took to mocking their brethren, as unfortunate and miserable exiles, and exalted themselves alone as the heirs of the sacred land—a qualification which, in their opinion, could not fail to secure them success in every enterprise.[4]

2. Driven on in this way by the visionaries in his own country, and misled by the promises of Egypt, the feeble king at length allowed himself to be seduced into open revolt. About the same time the relations of Chaldea and Tyre were thrown into confusion; and Nabuchodrozzor soon after commenced the long siege of Tyre.[5] Zedekiah may have relied also on intelligence of the ferment of rebellion in other states not yet wholly subdued; among the Ammonites, for instance, whose territory, if it was hostile to the Chaldeans, appeared to cover Judah to

[1] See the *Dichter des A. B.* ii. p. 237 sqq., 3rd ed.; Pss. xlii., sq., lxxxiv., are of special interest, as they were probably composed by king Jehoiachin.

[2] Jer. xxix.; cf. Bar. i. 2 sqq.

[3] It may be assumed with certainty that the penalty threatened in Jer. xxix. 21 sq. against the wicked prophets Ahab and Zedekiah, was really carried out in some such way, for otherwise Jeremiah would not have used such definite language on the subject in the subsequent composition of his work.

[4] Ezek. xi. 15; cf. xxxiii. 24.

[5] On this subject see the remarks below on the chronological survey, pp. 297 sqq. Ezekiel's mind was most powerfully occupied at that time by the thought of the fate of Tyre, Ezek. xxvi. 1.

no inconsiderable extent. Alas, no hopes could have proved more delusive! When Ezekiel received the first news of the actual revolt of Zedekiah and of Nabuchodrozzor's preparations, his feelings were naturally most deeply excited. The sword of divine vengeance which was placed in the hand of the Chaldean, might, it seemed to him, for a moment waver whether it should strike the Ammonites or Jerusalem, yet a higher will would direct it against the city, while the Ammonites would be more eager to join in drawing their swords against Jerusalem than in defending it; an eagerness which would, however, bring evil on themselves.[1] In reality, as the Chaldeans advanced, the Moabites and Ammonites suddenly subsided into quiescence, and uttered their taunts over the severe shocks of war inflicted on Judah. The Edomites and Philistines, on the other hand, as soon as fortune inclined against Judah, indulged their ancient hatred by taking a very active part in the war.[2]

In Jerusalem and Judah, however, the struggle was taken up with the most intense earnestness, when, in the tenth month of the ninth year of Zedekiah's reign, Nabuchodrozzor appeared before Jerusalem, and immediately began to throw up intrenchments round it. The city had little other protection than its walls; but it made a brave defence, well knowing the fate which would attend its reduction by such an enemy. In order to increase its voluntary fighting strength, it was resolved to free all born Hebrews, who, from debt or other cause, had been enslaved, and in this way to revive in an improved form a long-neglected law of the ancient religion;[3] and this plan was carried out by means of a solemn contract between king and people. One last ray of hope still gleamed on some better minds. Even prophets, not without merit in other respects, could dream of the impossibility of a violent conquest, or at any rate, a total destruction of the sacred city, as long as they merely continued to labour in Isaiah's spirit, without rising to the less clouded elevation of Jeremiah, and the new insight

[1] This is in brief the meaning of the difficult passage Ezek. xxi. [xx. 45–xxi.], which is more fully explained in the last edition of the *Propheten des A. B.* The address to the sword of the Ammonites in ver. 33 [28] is continued in ver. 34 [29], where לְחֵת אוֹתָךְ had better be taken as follows, 'whilst they prophesy falsely to thee that thou shalt be set on the necks of the Judahites' to destroy them,—then comes the conclusion, 'Lay it up (will I) in its sheath!' that it may not break out as it pleases against Judah. We must, therefore, read הָשֵׁב with the same construction as in ver. 31 [26], and the verse should end here. In the next verse Ammon is addressed, and the suffix is better put in the masculine.

[2] This follows from Ezek. xxv.; about the Edomites cf., further, Ezek. xxxii. 29, xxxv., xxxvi. 5, the book of Obadiah worked up into its present form, and Ps. cxxxvii. 7.

[3] See the *Alterthümer*, p. 244.

which he based upon it. And thus in an age which from other causes could be so easily inflamed, it was in their power to kindle on a sudden in the whole nation a lofty enthusiasm for the contest. A remarkable attestation of this is afforded by two compositions of a prophet whose name is now lost, which appear to have been published at this juncture.[1] The Chaldeans were compelling even the inhabitants of the rural districts of Judah to serve in their ranks against Jerusalem. The country had ere this many grounds of complaint about the arrogance of the capital, where a new party had arisen since the deportation of the nobles under Jehoiachin, and had taken the helm of state. This prophet, who resided in the country, consequently looked on a slight chastisement of the capital as not wholly undeserved; but, to a mind almost intoxicated with Messianic hopes, this only made the idea of the sacred city and especially of the temple being laid altogether in ruins the more intolerable. Great as was the general excitement of this age, the Messianic hopes are nowhere presented with more passion and force than in the writings of a prophet who in this respect forms the exact opposite of his contemporary, Jeremiah.

For some time the besiegers did not succeed in their attempts to invest the city closely. The besieged made some successful sorties; and the intelligence soon arrived that an Egyptian army (augmented, probably, by the numerous Judahites who had fled to Egypt) was advancing to their relief, upon which the Chaldeans marched out to meet it, and raised the siege of Jerusalem. Yet when this momentary turn of fortune was employed in the reintroduction of the slavery abolished shortly before, Jeremiah,[2] whose feelings were already most deeply wounded, gave way to the worst anticipations. To a deputation sent to him by Zedekiah to inquire whether, according to his prophetic foresight, the retirement of the Chaldeans would be permanent, he replied in the negative, and maintained that

[1] Zech. xii.–xiii. 6, xiv. In the *Propheten des A. B.* i. p 389 sq. [ii. 52 sq. 2nd ed.; iii. Trans.], I have shown that these properly belong to the time of this war. At the first glance these two pieces might also be referred to the time of the first Chaldean revolt, especially as they do not appear to contain any allusion to the deportation that had already taken place, or to the first Chaldean conquest. And an author might be sought for them in the person of Hananiah of Gibeon, known to us from Jer. xxvii. sq., who, before Jeremiah expressly opposed him, must have enjoyed much respect among the people; although, in the crowd of prophets of the day, any conjecture of this kind must remain essentially uncertain. But it was not till the second revolt that the agitation was so extraordinary, so continuous, and so general, as is presupposed in these compositions. We find the insolence of the parvenu government in Jerusalem noticed at that time in other quarters (p. 270 sq.); and the possibility of a deportation of half the inhabitants of Jerusalem floats before the mind of this prophet, xiv. 2, just as it had happened under Jehoiachin.

[2] Jer. xxxiv. 8–22.

only those who went over to them could be sure of their lives.[1] In making this last assertion the aged prophet had no intention himself of going over; but when, after the opening up of the road to his native town, Anathoth, he wished to proceed there on private affairs, he was arrested at the gate, in spite of his protestations of innocence, by order of several nobles unfavourable to him, and thrown into an unhealthy prison, until the king, who became again desirous to hear his oral advice, gave instructions for his removal to a more tolerable place of confinement into the guard-house of the palace. Here he negotiated with his cousin Hanameel about a patrimonial estate, as though, in spite of the higher necessity of the impending destruction of the kingdom, he yet had not the remotest doubt of its future restoration; and in this way, in the midst of the rapidly increasing misery, he gave proof of the most exemplary courage.[2]

In the meantime, the army which was bringing aid from Egypt was driven back to Africa, and the close investment of Jerusalem was recommenced. The other fortresses also of the country, as far as Lachish and Azekah on the west, soon fell into the enemy's hands,[3] although this time the country districts made a very brave defence, so that in the tenth year of Zedekiah's reign three thousand and twenty-three persons of consequence had to go into exile.[4] Jerusalem now saw itself abandoned by everyone, even by those who had before promised it their aid in the event of such a catastrophe.[5] As in former sieges,[6] many private and royal buildings were pulled down in the neighbourhood of those points most exposed to attack.[7] Moreover, among the besieged themselves, violent dissensions soon became apparent. Many considered further resistance useless; while the zealots, hoping blindly for the aid of the exiles, put down by force all resistance from within, and even priests and prophets sullied themselves with these deeds of blood.[8] In the comparative freedom of his new confinement Jeremiah continued to recommend all who asked his advice to surrender themselves to the Chaldeans, and at the same time the supplies of the besieged were becoming extremely scanty. The prophet was accordingly placed, at the instigation of the

[1] Jer. xxi. 1–10, xxxvii. 1–10.
[2] Jer. xxxvii. 11–21, xxxii. sq.
[3] Jer. xxxiv. 7; cf. ver. 1.
[4] Jer. lii. 28; cf. Joseph. p. 264 *note* 8.
[5] This is forcibly represented in Lam. i. 2, 19.
[6] P. 175.
[7] Jer. xxxiii. 4, cf. Is. xxii. 10; similar occurrences from later times are narrated in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 2, *Bell. Jud.* v. 3. 2, Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 1847, p. 207, sq.
[8] According to the true meaning of Lam. iv. 12–15.

most violent opponents of the Chaldeans, in an adjoining well full of filth, where he would soon have starved, had not a friendly officer at court obtained an order from the king, which he carried out with alacrity, to bring him again into the guard-house. Yet when the king sought his advice, Jeremiah in vain attempted again and again to induce him to surrender, and thus save the city, although he promised him that in any case his life should be secure.[1] Mistrusting the capacity of so weak a king, numbers had already given themselves up to the Chaldeans.[2] The great mass of the besieged, however, held out till the fourth month of the eleventh year of Zedekiah, when the pressure of want in the city had become excessively severe. At length the enemy made a breach in the walls on the north, occupied the whole of the lower city, and established themselves by the so-called Middle Gate, north-east of Zion, and in the neighbourhood of the citadel. This position was the centre of the whole city, and gave them ready command alike of the temple and of Zion.[3] Upon this, Zedekiah fled by night, accompanied by his troops, through the fortifications on the south-east, took an easterly direction, and had almost arrived at the Jordan, when he was seized by the Chaldeans who were lying in wait in all directions, and was carried to Nabuchodrozzor at Riblah, in the north of the sacred land. Here a severe sentence was passed upon him; his sons and all the captive nobles were executed before his eyes, and he himself was deprived of sight and carried away in chains to Babylon, where he remained under surveillance till his death.[4] It was the Edomites especially who at this time incited the Chaldeans to carry out the most rigorous measures against the conquered city; from the same feelings they treated the fugitives, also, very ill, and sought to derive the greatest advantage for themselves out of the fall of the venerable kingdom of Judah,[5] nor were their attempts to instigate the Chaldeans without result. On the tenth day of the fifth month[6] Nebuzaradan, commander of the royal body-guard, arrived at Jerusalem with fresh orders from Nabuchodrozzor, to inflict the penalty suspended over the city. The vessels still remaining in the temple, together with the two splendid pillars,[7] were carried away; the temple, the palace,

[1] Jer. xxxiv. 1–7, xxxviii.

[2] Jer. xxxviii. 19.

[3] This important piece of information is only preserved in Jer. xxxix. 3.

[4] That he was compelled to work in mills as later Chronicles relate (see Angelo Mai's *Scriptor. Veter. Nova Collectio*, vol. i. part 2, p. 6; cf. *Chron. Sam.* c. xlv.), is probably a mere conclusion from Lam. v. 13. Where the king's daughters were left may be seen from Jer. xli. 10, xliii. 6.

[5] Obadiah vv. 11–14, Ezek. xxv. 12, Ps. cxxxvii. 7. See also vol. v. p. 15.

[6] Our August; cf., further, Jos. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 4, 5, 8.

[7] Vol. iii. p. 236 sq.

and all the more magnificent buildings, were burned to the ground; all the walls were razed; the first and second high priests, with the three keepers of the temple threshold, the war minister and the secretary to the commander-in-chief, seven officers of the court, and sixty citizens were sent to Riblah to be executed before the king. The rest of the respectable inhabitants of Jerusalem, who were capable of bearing arms, including those who had gone over already, in all eight hundred and thirty-two, were exiled; and the Chaldean plenipotentiary, so far as he could help it, left no one behind in the country but the lowest class, to make a scanty subsistence by cultivating its fields and vineyards.[1] Large numbers of the most energetic fled, from hatred of the Chaldeans, into countries that were still free, such as Egypt and others; but the Chaldeans pursued them sharply, and it soon became doubtful whether these fugitives were not quite as unfortunate as the exiles.[2]

3. The most terrible imaginations of antiquity were now realised; the realm and its sanctuary were involved in a common ruin. Yet it would still have been possible for a considerable remnant of the people, at any rate, to have gathered together into a not insignificant community under the direct government of the Chaldeans in their own country. Among the few who had acted with moderation in the foregoing years, a nobleman named Gedaliah had been especially distinguished. He was the grandson of Shaphan,[3] and son of Ahikam, the early protector of Jeremiah. He received permission to remain peacefully at Mizpah, tolerably near to Jerusalem, and to take under his protection as many of his countrymen as he could maintain in tranquillity; and for this purpose some of the much-dreaded Chaldean troops were placed at his disposal. Here he was voluntarily joined by Jeremiah. The prophet had at first been carried away in a train of exiles as far as Ramah, at no great distance north of Jerusalem, where, by a royal order, he was very graciously treated by Nebuzaradan, and received permission to remain in the country wherever he pleased. This change in his position was unquestionably due to information which had reached the Chaldeans in the meantime, of the pecu-

[1] Jer. lii., 2 Kings xxv., Jer. xxxix. 1 sq., 4–13, all from the same source, the book of Kings. Unlike the statement in 2 Kings xxiv. 14–16, it is nowhere definitely asserted of those who were deported on this occasion that they were all carried away to Babylon; we may, therefore, supply from Obad. ver. 19 sq. the places to which some of them were sent; immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, however, many were removed to Babylon, Jer. xl. 1–4. Other data of little-known localities to which the exiles came to live, are to be found in Ezr. ii. 59 and Neh. vii. 61; on Bar. i. 4, see *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iv. p. 77.

[2] Lam. i. 3, iv. 19, v. 5 sq.

[3] P. 233.

liar relation in which he had stood to his nation during the siege. These two men might have succeeded in laying a good foundation for a new community, and from all quarters numbers speedily gathered round them who had remained in concealment through fear, or had fled into border countries; some of them came alone, some were petty chiefs with their clients. But it seemed as if the seed of Israel's welfare had now not even the smallest chance of germinating in a soil so deeply undermined. Two months after the destruction of Jerusalem, the Ammonite king, Baalis, who had contrived by his cunning[1] to maintain a somewhat more independent position, induced a certain Ishmael, son of Nethaniah, of Davidic descent, who had attached himself to Gedaliah, to assassinate him and his few Chaldeans, and with all the men whom he could raise, to come over to his side. This was evidently the result of offers made by Ishmael to Baalis, in case of a future rising against the Chaldeans, which would have been less likely to succeed if a Chaldean Israel had grown up on the west of the Jordan. It is true this brutal plan did not wholly succeed; for before Ishmael could get over the Jordan with his human spoil, he was overpowered and compelled to take to flight with a few adherents. The survivors, however, who had now no Gedaliah, strong in faith, to take the lead, were seized with such dread of the approach of Chaldean troops, that they forced Jeremiah against his will and his prophetic counsel to flee with them to Egypt. Here the number of Judahite settlers continued to increase; they were favoured by the government, and they spread all over the country. Jeremiah had consequently to renew his discourses partly against the idolatry which was revived on this luxurious soil especially among the women, partly against the vain hopes of an Egyptian victory over the Chaldeans.[2] Yet, while the majority would not let the aged prophet go out of their midst—he was a sort of relic of better times—they would not listen to his voice.[3]

The fugitives who sought refuge in Egypt were drawn, however, only from some districts of the country. Other inhabitants still remained behind; and in spite of all these frightful disasters, there were still many who could not convince themselves

[1] Pp. 268, 271 *sq.*

[2] Jer. xxxix. 1, 3, 14, xl.–xliv., xlvi. 13–26, 2 Kings xxv. 25 *sq.*

[3] The tradition that he was stoned by his own countrymen at Taphne in Egypt (a city often mentioned in his book) is therefore not so improbable; only we do not know it from its older source, as it is only found for the first time in the work of Epiphanius, *De Proph.* viii., and in still later books. It is probably derived from that same Apocryphon from which another piece has been preserved through Alexander Polyhistor in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 39.

that this sacred land was not to be legitimately theirs.[1] Accordingly, five years after the destruction of the capital, a new struggle arose in some country district, which terminated in the exile of seven hundred and forty-five persons.[2] The siege of Tyre by the Chaldeans, which proved a matter of extreme difficulty, still continued. At the same time, war had at length openly broken out between the Chaldeans and the Moabites and Ammonites,[3] into which these Judahites certainly allowed themselves to be drawn; and Ishmael then perhaps received the reward he had earned. Thus the fire of hatred against the Chaldeans, after being extinguished time after time, ever blazed up afresh, until it was quite burned out, and that picture of the universality and horrors of the country's ruin was completed, which is presented with such vividness in the book of Lamentations.

V. Literature in the Last Age of the Monarchy.

The external history of Judah shows that from the time of the tedious reign of Manasseh, its most important undertakings only involved it in further confusion, and all the changes of fortune which it underwent only brought it to a speedier fall. And in the same way it is no less clear from the nature of the literature of this last age, how seriously, nay, how irremediably the strength of the ancient spirit of the people was broken, in this remnant also of its once powerful monarchy. Indeed this purely spiritual mark of its history, the literature of the period, affords a far clearer insight than any vicissitudes of outward events can supply, into those deep wounds which had been inflicted on the consciousness and inner vigour of the people, and from which, as a nation, it could never wholly recover. From the time of its disruption, the ancient and powerful kingdom of Israel tottered slowly towards its dissolution. In Judah, however, the pith of the old monarchy, it was not till the time of Manasseh, that the pure and strong consciousness of its inner life was irremediably injured; so much longer was the resistance of the pure spirit of the people to the consuming evils of the time! In those fifty years of violent retrogression, and of the gravest internal confusion, when all the obscure powers of the age, gathered up in the hand of royalty itself, were raging most furiously to put down the bold efforts of a better spirit in the people, when enlightened prophecy, and

[1] Ezek. xxxiii. 24 sq.
[2] Jer. lii. 30.
[3] This brief account in Jos. *Ant.* x. 9. 7 is all the more credible as it entirely harmonises with Jer. lii. 30, as well as with Ezek. xxi. [xx. 45–xxi.] (p. 271 *note* 1).

with it the profoundest force of the ancient nation, was completely disordered, and when only a few isolated and stronger minds emerged from the baptism of blood in mortal persecution to a life of new aspiration and new hope,—it was not only the state and its visible power, but the very spirit of the nation which was broken, confused, and crippled; and it was not till then that the corruption which had certainly set in with the later days of Solomon, reached its highest pitch. What the Peloponnesian war was to the Greeks, what the civil wars of royal consuls and dictators were to the Romans, the half century of Manasseh's dark reign was to Israel.

Not as though noble thoughts and grand truths may not have continued to take root in the ancient community through the energy of great individual minds, and have been able to exhibit themselves in a corresponding form in literature. No suffering and no national disaster can hopelessly crush individual vigour; on the contrary, in the general decline it has all the more room to strike out new paths. But the consciousness of nationality once so strong and high, with the civilisation which had arisen out of it, was shattered in its deepest foundations. To the individual this entailed the loss of firm support, as well as of level progress; and the close limitations of subject within which literature was compressed after the disruption of the kingdom, did not permit it to attain any new and higher development. It was only in connection with the progress and diffusion of civilisation among the whole nation that the special forms and styles in which it had been hitherto cultivated had so readily adapted themselves to the reception of higher ideas, and had attained their peculiar perfection; as soon as the vitality of this general civilisation was checked and thrown into permanent confusion, they, too, stood still.

Nor must it be supposed that the marks of this decline showed themselves immediately and in equal degrees in all branches of literature. On the boundary line of this concluding period stands the highly-finished book of Job, the most beautiful, and, at the same time, the most elevated production of the whole literature of Israel.[1] Only a few passages, in which the poet imitates older models,[2] indicate that this artistic composition really arose, as it were, on the line of demarcation between the two periods. The grand introduction to the present book

[1] P. 199.

[2] For instance, in ix. 8, xiv. 11, and the passages where the language coincides with Hezekiah's song, Is. xxxviii. On the other hand, care must be taken not to treat the lengthiness of cc. xv. xxi. xxiv. as anything else than what it purports to be; it is in accordance with the artistic plan of the whole work.

of Proverbs,[1] also, which is the next in chronological order, certainly affords clear proof of the manner in which even poetic language gradually passes into purely rhetorical diffuseness and easy clearness, yet there is but little diminution to be observed in the actual vigour and beauty of its representation. Such imperceptible beginnings of decaying force as these, however, are followed by the appearance soon enough of a quite new style of literature, bearing every mark of advancing decay; its deterioration is indeed rapid, just as the terseness and grace of Jeremiah's style diminished while the misfortunes of his life were constantly on the increase.[2] This is indeed essentially the same decline, the further progress of which will come under our notice in the next stage of the whole history of Israel; the main points of it are already sufficiently conspicuous.

1. Confining our attention first to the language alone, as the vehicle of the thought, we cannot fail to perceive that the ancient strictness, terseness, and vigour have entirely given way to a looser, feebler, and more diffuse style. In an age of greater oppression, when thought is often withheld from leaping forth with freedom and energy, it with difficulty exhausts all its depth and truth. But, again, the language, desirous apparently of guarding itself by force against such diffuseness, often suddenly takes a wholly different turn, becomes intentionally concise and pointed, so that in this extreme tension it would be hardly possible to recognise the same speaker; yet it speedily falls back again into its primitive style. Certainly among the different authors and poets there is very great variety of manner. The orator of Deuteronomy has a somewhat diffuse yet very equable and simple diction. On the other hand, the picturesque discourse of Ezekiel, whose whole character marks the transition to the third and last era of Israel's history, while it is tolerably uniform, depicts everything in a picturesque and more artificial manner. The prophets, however, who are the purest representatives of the peculiar language of the time, are Zephaniah, Jeremiah, and the unknown prophet already mentioned[3] from the last years of Jerusalem. The same varieties appear also in the songs of this period; and such as Pss. lix., xxii., xxxv., xxxviii., xxxix., are the clearest examples of the soft and diffuse style, while such as Pss. cxli., lvi., lvii., lviii., lxxxii., xvi., lxxiii. exhibit greater terseness and artificial tension.

To this must be added the fact that the older models exerted great influence as examples both of language and of special

[1] P. 220 sq.
[2] Cf. the *Propheten des A. B.* ii. p. 6 [ii. p. 68 sq., 2nd ed.; iii. Trans.].
[3] P. 272.

description on the writers and poets of this period; many clung closely to them, and diligently revived the sublimity of their style, as we observe in the works of Nahum and Habakkuk. And even authors who did not aim at the vigour of the style of the ancients, felt themselves very dependent for their ideas and modes of representation on the precedents afforded by older writers. In setting forth somewhat more elevated subjects, historians liked to adhere almost word for word to the older models.[1] In their loftier descriptions prophets like Jeremiah and Ezekiel followed the example of Isaiah and other older prophets, and in their oracles about strange nations, about whom there was little need to depart from standing ideas, Jeremiah and Obadiah even interweave long passages word for word from celebrated ancient works. And so all these facts reveal the great deficiency of this age in native vigour.

The manifold varieties of language which thus arose were further increased by the gradual intrusion of Aramaic elements into the Hebrew. The Aramaic was the dominant language first of the Assyrian and then of the Chaldean empire, as well as of the majority of eastern nations among whom such numbers of Hebrews were living in exile, and whose power weighed more and more heavily upon the Israelites who still resided in the sacred land. Aramaic elements, accordingly, involuntarily made their way little by little into the Hebrew. Some writers, however, offered a much more forcible resistance to this intrusion than others. Among the prophets the language of Jeremiah succumbed more and more to this influence, as his age increased, and successive editions of his works were issued by his disciples. Many historians, on the other hand, in the last age, still kept themselves free from this tendency;[2] and the poets, as was fit, were the most efficient guardians of the purity of the language.[3]

It is, however, on extending our view to the proper art of poetry and of other kinds of representation that the stagnation which gradually fettered all the higher activities of the national mind becomes most perceptible. It is true that the artistic skill of every sort which had attained so high an elevation in preceding centuries, continued to be exercised with great zeal; and many little poetic or narrative compositions appeared in the beauty of consummate art. But no production ever passes on a large scale and in its essential character beyond the art

[1] See above, pp. 85 sq., 108 sqq., and i. p. 164.

[2] Cf. i. p. 168.

[3] The date of Ps. lxix. is subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem.

forms which had been already devised; or exhibits the creative genius and grandeur of such a work as the book of Job. On the contrary, not to travel beyond this one example, the later additions to the book of Job [1] show clearly enough to how great an extent the power gradually disappeared of remaining at the elevation of great works of art, and carrying them on without any declension. It is only in some of the prophets that the higher art of representation is preserved and indeed continuously developed in the most remarkable manner; but in their case it was one of the last means of giving fresh strength to the fading power of their words.

Yet where art in its highest efforts has ceased to make progress, and still continues to be active, it gradually applies its energies more and more to external forms, and seeks new graces in the increase of outward ornament and constraint. Accordingly, this age witnessed the further development of that elegant construction of songs in rhythmic strophes with a recurring burden,[2] which had been commenced in the previous century.[3] The numerous poets and writers now become fonder of adornments of expression than their predecessors; and the charm of word-play makes its way even into the gravity of sacred song. There are, certainly, examples of word-play with its epigrammatic wit to be found in the older prophets, which were quite suitable when they were speaking altogether from life and for life.[4] But such instances as in Ps. lvi. 9 [8] in an address to God,

> 'My *weeping* hast thou *reckoned*,
> Safe in thy *keeping*, in thy *reckoner* are all my tears;'

or as in Ps. lxxxiv. 7 [6],

> 'Who passing through the balsam valley make it a well,'

(i.e. flood the most barren valley with their tears, because the Hebrew word for balsam has the same sound as that for weeping)—would have been impossible at any earlier period, especially in serious songs.

A new device, however, now appears for the first time; that, namely, of arranging the verses of a song by the letters of the alphabet. This art, which subsequently assumed a great variety of forms, maintained itself most tenaciously from that

[1] Cf. the *Dichter des A. B.* iii. p. 312 sqq., 2nd ed., and the additions to what is there said in the *Tübing. Theol. Jahrbb.* 1843, pp. 740–757; they were probably written by a resident in Egypt after the destruction of Jerusalem.

[2] As in Pss. lix., xlii. sq., lvi., lvii., xlix.

[3] P. 198.

[4] See the *Propheten des A. B.* i. p. 48. [Trans. i. 59 sq.]

time among all the branches of ancient Israel, and even among the later Samaritans, and gradually contributed not a little to dry up the full spring of true poetic art.[1] With this, a special erudition entered for the first time into the sphere of poetic composition; and there are many traces that by the time of which we are speaking this had become a great power;[2] indeed the gradual dispersion of Israel among other nations kept continually enlarging its scope, as it now made its way in from the most opposite quarters. We are, therefore, enabled to understand how in literature also it increased in power with every attempt on the part of literature itself to renew its life and vigour by outward means; yet the first person in whom it exerts any considerable influence on the representation of ideas is Ezekiel, in the middle of the exile and the transition to the next period; and in his case it has to make up for the absence of much which had been lost through the total ruin of public national life.[3]

Yet there were many other minds which were sensible enough of the inadequacy of all these external expedients, and they readily yielded themselves captive to a deep longing to fill up as far as possible, by the use of a much more potent instrument, the wide chasm which they felt to exist between themselves, with their contemporaries, and the elevation of antiquity. Accordingly, they adopted the last device possible in such an age, the successful application of which would produce the most powerful effect. They attempted to discourse with the ideas and words of the lofty leaders of a mightier past; nor was their aim limited simply to inspiring themselves with the more passionate fire of vanished heroes; but they desired to excite their contemporaries to the perception of those truths which they were now willing to listen to only from the great men of a better age, and would scarcely receive from a teacher of their own time. This is, in fact, only an expression in the strongest possible form of the dependence felt by later writers upon their great predecessors; but the extent to which this branch of literary composition was carried in Israel, when it had once arisen, is a very peculiar phenomenon. But for the fact that the really extraordinary greatness of the past of this nation, on the one hand, was only equalled by the extraordinary disposition on the other hand of

[1] See the *Dichter des A. B.* i. pp. 200 sqq., new ed. The oldest of these songs, as, for instance, Pss. xxv., xxxiv., may date from the period now under review.

[2] P. 240 sq.

[3] See the *Propheten des A. B.* ii. p. 298 sqq. [ii. p. 328 sqq., 2nd ed.].

its latest teachers to learn from that past, its literature could never have taken this turn. The former, however, is the condition of the latter; and, in addition to the other glories of Israel's ancient days, the glory of its early poetry and literature may be clearly recognised from their faint reappearance in this artificial mirage. The art began in this century with the revival of the sacred and powerful utterance of Moses;[1] its further progress in later ages is, however, reserved for subsequent illustration.

2. On considering the literature of this age in the three principal branches into which it was divided in the centuries immediately preceding, the prophetic, the historical, and the properly poetic, we are met at the first glance by a new phenomenon, the strong intermixture of the poetic and prophetic styles which now acquired predominance. We are not alluding to the sudden outburst of prophetic thought in song; this is not uncommon in the age of the ministry of great prophets. But we now find entire songs of considerable length which in design as well as in contents and execution are purely prophetic, where the essential element of prophecy merely veils itself in the garb of song.[2] And conversely, purely prophetic pieces easily pass into perfect poems.[3] Such a mixture of style betrays altogether an age of decline, and was in this case a special result of the fortunes of prophetism. After it had received its death-blow under Manasseh, and the best energy of its public activity was broken, it partly preserved itself by assuming the more innocent dress of song, and partly tended to become a mere matter of literary and poetic composition; and thus (in its written form) it lost to an increasing extent the old pithy utterance which had been only the nobler copy of its public address. The language of simpler prophets like Jeremiah relaxes here and there almost into prose; in others, who aim at more art and elevation of style, like Habakkuk and Ezekiel, it passes rather into the various kinds of poetry, either into the lower form of proverb, or into the lament, or into the elevated song of thanksgiving and praise, whichever appears suitable at the time. And Jeremiah, who is the furthest removed from this poetic change of style, yet mingles many

[1] And that, too, three times; see above, p. 221, and i. p. 127 sq. In a much earlier age a precedent was certainly set by the blessing of Jacob (i. p. 69 sq.); but what an interval there is in this respect between Jacob and Moses! See further remarks in the *Jahrhb. der Bibl. Wiss.* xii. p. 187 sq.

[2] So Deut. xxxii., cf. p. 194 *note* 6; and Ps. l., cf. p. 240.

[3] As Hab. ii. 6–19, iii. 3–15, Ezek. xvii., xix., xxxi., xxxii. Similar phenomena in the older prophets (*Propheten des A. B.* i. p. 32 [i. p. 54 sqq., 2nd ed.; i. p. 66 sqq. Trans.]) are of a quite different description.

purely personal effusions in his prophetic addresses, and sometimes falls into the manner of the simple teacher; so that he, too, departs almost as widely from the austere method of the ancient prophets.

In other respects the production of prophetic works was as active at this period as it had ever been in earlier days. The oracle of Nahum [1] supplies us with remarkable evidence of the zeal with which it was pursued even among the exiles of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes in the Assyrian dominions.

The song proper still preserved its place as the freshest effusion of all poetic feeling, and many of the songs which exhibit the greatest depth of sentiment and the greatest beauty of simple art, arose out of the novelty of the experiences and trials of the age. Even in the midst of exile or of the severest calamities of other kinds, it was not put to silence; and not seldom it still succeeded in attaining an almost Davidic elevation; [2] although it may be remarked to what an extent the individual is predominantly concerned with his own feelings. But whenever it is applied to general national affairs, it cannot conceal the relaxation of its ancient vigour and originality.[3]—There were now numerous and considerable collections of songs of serious contents, partly based on older ones of the same nature; [4] and many a compiler of this kind was doubtless at the same time a fertile poet.[5]

The composition of proverbs now completely changes, on the one hand, into an oratorically ample description and a very animated recommendation of great moral truths; so that it gathers into itself a great deal which, in earlier times, would have appeared in prophetic dress. The moral proverb is thus spun out into works of grand design and the most artistic execution; the introduction to the present book of Proverbs is of this kind.[6] —On the other hand it passes into elegant little delineations, often of an enigmatical and surprising character, with pointed thoughts, and fictitious names; and thus resembles a sort of epigrammatic poetry, the value of which is determined by the form rather than by the matter. Of this species are the curious

[1] P. 227 sq.

[2] Such as Pss. lvi., lvii., xlii. sq., lxxxiv.

[3] This is clearly proved by the example of Ps. lxxii., and of Ps. xxi., also, though the latter song is much older than the former (see the *Psalmen*, p. 84 sq., 3rd ed.).

[4] P. 198.

[5] There may have been already in existence at this period a collection consisting of Ps. i. as an introduction, Pss. v., xvi., xvii., xxi., xxii., xxvi., xxvii. 7-14, xxviii., xxxi., xxxv., xxxvi., xxxviii., as songs of the times, increased by many older ones (p. 198 *note* 8). The basis of another collection out of this period was no doubt formed by many of the songs now placed among Pss. xlii.–lxxxix., cxl.–cxlii.

[6] P. 220.

'Proverbs of Agur, son of Jakeh,' who was unquestionably a real composer of proverbs, belonging to the last age of the monarchy, and the only one, besides Solomon, with whose name we are now acquainted.[1] He is at the same time well deserving of remark for the contest he maintained with the folly which in his day had already made incredible progress.[2]—Others, however, of the proverb-writers of these days were very fond of availing themselves of the charm of song, so that this primitive species of all poetic composition took up into itself with equal readiness both prophetic and purely didactic elements.[3]

Nor were these important differences both of matter and spirit limited to the department of proverbs alone; the various branches of historical composition diverged in the same way to a still greater degree, so far as concerned the principles which animated them. Between the descriptions of the sublime career of Elijah, which aspire after an equal sublimity, and the pictures of the calm and cheerful life of the ancient heroic age, which the book of Ruth sketches with a certain historical lore, there is a wide interval. The national life had already assumed the most different, nay, opposite directions, and literature could do no more than reflect them.—A favourite subject of historical description and instruction was now found in the recollections of the wonderful careers of those prophets who had still maintained erect the prophetism of antiquity. But little of the influence of such mighty forms was perceived in the present; and the remembrance of them was, in consequence, proportionately more edifying, and historical composition occupied itself to a greater extent with the corresponding presentation of those reminiscences of them which were still scattered here and there.[4] This is the real cause which has preserved for us so many testimonies in part of the actual achievements of such prophets, in part of the point of view from which, at this or that period, they were conceived; and every grain from this threshing-floor affords us its contribution to a more correct knowledge of the whole history. Yet in the general decline and the violent distraction in which the ancient national spirit of Israel now disappeared, the historical consideration of the past also began from some points of view to be obscured. The book of Ruth shows us the direction now assumed by historical knowledge with its growing desire for investigation; but in

[1] See the *Dichter des A. B.* iv. pp. 43, 166–74 [ii. pp. 59, 247–261, 2nd ed.].

[2] See *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* i. p. 108 sqq., ii. p. 71 sq.

[3] As in Pss. xlix., l., xxv., xxxiv., lxxiii.

[4] Cf., above, p. 85 sqq., 103 (*note* 2) sqq., 128 sqq.

this age of decline, the great freedom of treatment which had succeeded in establishing itself[1] in the preceding period, gradually proved more and more dangerous to the proper representation of higher subjects. In pieces such as those about Elijah,[2] or Samson,[3] this free style of narration brings out the most elevated truths inherent in it; but representations such as that of the unknown prophet of Judah who met his end at the idol altar at Bethel,[4] would have been impossible in the age of the book of Origins, or the ancient history of the Kings.

3. In conclusion, we may cast a glance on the outward fortunes of literature, as the consideration of its form will perhaps not be without its advantages. From the days of David and Solomon (as we have already pointed out) Israel was exceedingly desirous of learning, and skilful in acquiring manual arts, as every historical indication proves; and whatever refinements of mechanical arts and implements antiquity possessed, were certainly understood and practised by Israel also at a very early period. Considering the great cultivation and power which were early attained by literature in Israel, it is natural to suppose that the arts connected with it, e.g. of copying the manuscripts in good style and preserving the text free from errors, reached a high perfection. On a close examination in this respect of the compositions of the Old Testament as they have been transmitted to us, we find even now, in spite of the extraordinary vicissitudes through which they have passed, many works from the finest periods of the literature, such as the book of Origins, the older songs and prophecies, or the original portions of the book of Job, retaining a text relatively very pure. In the last age of the ancient kingdom, however, an observation of an exactly opposite description forces itself upon us; and some of these pieces especially, such as Ps. xlix., have come down to us in a very neglected condition. Moreover, the want of arrangement which is conspicuous in Deuteronomy proper,[5] can hardly be ascribed merely to later copyists. In this respect too, we see that the age is advanced in a decline which, issuing from the inmost life of the people, threatens gradually to lay hold of every department of its activity.

The whole literature of this last age proves, therefore, how deep were the inner wounds of the ancient nation, and how, in spite of the noblest counter efforts and of some glorious new acquisitions, everything was advancing irresistibly to a final fall.

[1] P. 199.
[2] Vol. ii. p. 402.
[3] P. 103 sqq.
[4] P. 30 sqq.
[5] This has been touched upon in i. p. 121 *note*, ii. p. 260 sq.

And yet in the unintermittent stream of songs which rises highest in the deepest calamities, as well as in the eagerness with which literature is pursued, an eagerness which no gloom can crush, it is not hard to see that, in spite of an overthrow like this, there is still an unexhausted and immortal power in this people which will still live on.

General Results of the Period of the Monarchy.

Many a human kingdom has fallen because the internal reforms necessary for its maintenance were either not executed at all, or not till it was too late. Poland turned her attention to them too late, and now many a Romance and many a Teutonic nation seems to be sharing the same fate for the same reason. So also the kingdom of the Ten Tribes fell because it never stopped up the stream of weaknesses which were continually accumulating within it; the kingdom of Judah, because the resistance which it offered to their progress was begun too late, and even then was without proper basis and incomplete, while it at last allowed new and ruinous errors to propagate themselves luxuriantly.

But while both kingdoms sank altogether into the dust, monarchy in Israel was simply fulfilling the divine destiny appointed to it from the first. Many causes contributed to its fall; at the last even the falseness of the growing confidence in the sanctuary. The original and decisive cause, however, must be looked for elsewhere. The dissolution of the powerful kingdom of David began, as we have seen, under Solomon; but whether the date of its commencement were early or late, it followed inevitably from the very origin of the monarchy, and was involved in a divine necessity, before any human being, even a prophet, could possibly suspect it. For the essential constitution of the ancient community of Israel required that its human king should be nothing less than the perfect man, he, that is, who realises most completely in his own person that divine life incumbent on every member of the community, and in virtue of this supreme qualification rules over all with divine force. How far the monarchy was from producing a king of this sort, how far even David fell short of his ideal, was gradually proved by the sequel. It was as yet impossible for such a king to appear, because the true religion itself which was to express in him its perfect life, had not yet discerned clearly enough the defects which had hitherto adhered to it. The consequence was that the monarchy in Israel in the course of

these centuries accomplished only the immediate object which had necessitated its establishment. It gave to the community of Jahveh all the national greatness and power which it was bound to attain, if it was ever to develope its whole nature upon earth; but as soon as it had achieved its first aim, and the higher problems began to press upon it, it proved too weak to solve them, and in then giving way to its lower elements, it fell most deeply into that error of using violence which was still inherent in the whole religion, and thus actually itself contributed to the destruction of that national unity and power which it had in the first instance created.

The first stage of the history of Israel had left behind it the lesson of the destructive consequences of the deliberate avoidance of human monarchy; its establishment and continuance were the animating principle of the second. Uniting itself with the Theocracy as the irrefragable basis of true religion, the human monarchy brought to it many of the supports which it looked for, and which had become essential to it; yet, on the other hand, the Theocracy learned how to maintain itself under every sort of royal rule in Israel; under the propitious as well as under the unpropitious, under the strong as well as under the weak. The action of ancient prophetism in attempting under Solomon and Rehoboam to regain its authority over the monarchy by the violent introduction of a new dynasty, simply arose out of the limitation of the first stage of the whole history. The kingdom of the Ten Tribes, the offspring of this prophetic omnipotence which would not understand that its time was gone by, atoned by its overthrow for protracting this mistake; but with its fall this misconception perished too, and in Judah the Theocracy learned, so far as it was the basis of true religion, to bow before every human rule, not in order to promote or take part in the evil it might involve, but to oppose it in the proper way. But while the true religion thus supplied its first defect with complete success, the monarchy brought out another for the first time into great prominence, that, namely, of violence. This was a fault of primitive prophetism as well as of the ancient religion in general; but it was by means of that power to which force most intimately appertains—the power of the crown—that it developed itself in all its consequences. It is by its supreme inherent force that monarchy becomes a blessing to the state; but this only makes it cause the greater corruption as soon as it allows force to degenerate into violence. And the true religion was not then capable of adequately protecting the monarchy from falling into this

danger, because it was still suffering from it itself. The perfect king, therefore, who was nevertheless demanded by the religion, could not appear; even in its best form the monarchy sank into violence; and from the last days of Solomon, the monarchy, which had contributed so powerfully to the support and elevation of the state, tended to bring about its gradual destruction. At length, it is true, after this defect had made itself most sensitively felt through the continued existence and operation of the monarchy, the pure truth in this respect also emerged, and love was clearly recognised as one of the supreme elements of the true religion;[1] but it was too late to effect any further change in the essential character of the existing constitution. Prognostication and discernment are generally easier than the perfect action which ought to correspond to them; and in the same way, to give the purest proof of real love, and to elevate it into one of the highest powers of all religion, is infinitely more difficult than to recognise its necessity and long for it.

As soon, therefore, as the monarchy in Israel had reached the culminating point beyond which its origin did not permit it to advance—in the very midst of this second stage, and of the high noon of the whole history of the nation, a new direction of its general activity makes its appearance, which was wholly divergent from everything that had preceded it. Hitherto this tendency had received only an outward direction. The attainment of a position and authority among the nations and societies of the world was the first and most necessary endeavour of the people. Not yet placed in the right path in the first stage of its history, it at length gains its end completely by the new human monarchy. Hitherto a large portion of the life and exertions, the joy and pride of Israel had consisted in contest and energetic sway abroad, in war and triumph over heathen nations. No sooner, however, is this end gained, than new and far more difficult problems present themselves; for now the more deep-seated weaknesses of the ancient religion have at last the opportunity of coming to the front in the calm of a satisfied national life, and in doing so, they make themselves painfully felt. Accordingly, the mightiest efforts and struggles of the people tend more and more to concentrate themselves within instead of expending themselves without. The spirit of the ancient religion and hence, also, of the whole nation, once made sensible of these defects, though at first inwardly disturbed and obscured, gradually returns with growing power and

[1] Pp. 129–133.

resolve into its own depths, in order to free itself as far as possible from the imperfections which still cling to it. Among the first great consequences of this spiritual movement is the division of the Davidic kingdom, and the commencement which this step involved of the dissolution of all human monarchy in Israel, and therefore of all national power. But the internal struggle spreads further and further, and the loss of power and honour abroad becomes more and more severe. First the larger kingdom of the Ten Tribes, and then Judah also, is torn, with less and less hope of remedy, by the most irreconcilable internal divisions; and the sharpest dissensions at length invade the very sanctuary of every house.[1] And indeed, the spiritual strife which is ever the most intense, extends beyond this second stage, as we shall subsequently observe; and to the very end of its history Israel could never regain its national power. Such was the force of the internal direction given to all its energies by the violence of the problem of life imposed on the people from the great days of David and Solomon, from which it could never free itself, because it lay in the very heart of its ancient religion, and could only be solved when that was perfected. The immediate effect of the constant advance of this dissolution was to destroy the external advantages which had been gained in the course of the national history, in the possession of a popular state, a fatherland, and a monarchy. The sacred land had been in former days conquered and occupied under the spur of a religion which still obeyed the law of violence; and now it was lost again under the further development of that element of violence which yet adhered to the ancient faith. At the conclusion of this second stage Israel was as poor and as unsettled as in bygone times of the wilderness; it was even more miserable and helpless, its condition more distracted and desperate than it was then. So far were the ancient threats of inspired prophecy fulfilled.[2]

But religious truth so far as it had been won and secured, could never perish through any outward losses which the nation might sustain. The great power of this second period, the monarchy, might show itself too feeble to produce the perfect king, and might at length itself perish with the destruction of the state, and the dispersion of the people; yet hope and aspiration for the perfect king combined with the perfection of the

[1] Compare utterances from Judah as early as the opening of the seventh century like Micah vii. 1–6; the same strain is repeated by Jeremiah ix. 3 [4], xii. 6.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 237 sqq. This is most admirably explained from the truth of the ancient religion by Amos ix. 7 sq., Hosea ii. 4–17 [2–15].

true religion and its kingdom, could never fail to be maintained. The demand for him had been involved in the existence and life of the community itself, ever since it had recognised and appropriated the glory and the unique character of the human monarchy; the image of him came before the discerning spirit of the great prophets with growing force, clearness, and brilliance; the hope of him was the best consolation of all the faithful and the good. The true king of the community was still to be sought for. The monarchs who had successively reigned simply served to show what the true king of the future was not to be; only the memory of David and a few other like princes, whose glory had been witnessed by the community, supplied some fixed points for the conception of the great king to come. And indeed it was not the least of the burdens of those sovereigns that they all saw the image of the perfect king held up before them with more or less rigour as a divine claim, and yet not one of them could see this picture distinctly nor behold this perfection clearly realised before him, and make it his own. How much easier in this respect may be the life of a modern, of a Christian king.

Isaiah indeed might still hope that with the speedy appearance of the Messiah an immediate change for the better would take place. But after another century had elapsed without bringing the fulfilment of this hope, and even the pious Josiah had only increased the confusion and the suffering of his own time by his attempts at a far-reaching reformation and his premature death, it could not fail to be discerned by clear prophetic insight that something more was required than the mere advent of a Messiah, and that the cause of the great evils from which both people and state were suffering, lay much deeper down. And when at length it was no longer obscure to this penetrating glance, at any rate, that the violence which had hitherto adhered so closely to the monarchy as well as to prophetism and, in fact, to the ancient religion altogether, was only the source of infinite mischief, and was wholly incompatible with true religion, the deficiency of the ancient religion was necessarily brought into prominence, and for the first time the need of an entirely new basis for the true faith made itself felt. A *new covenant* must be made between the community and Jahveh, which would in this respect be absolutely opposed to the old, and which would leave the reformation of Josiah far behind. Cemented as it would be solely by the bonds of love and reconciliation, the law of the future would have to operate not by its inscription on wood or stone, but by being written upon the

heart. This great truth, Jeremiah was the first to proclaim; he was led up to it by all the events of Israel's history, and even by the experience of the perverted confidence in the holy place and the false scripturalism[1] which had crept in.[2] At the end of the first great stage of this history, the deficiency of the ancient religion from the point of view of the state had been felt with overpowering force, and a new development had been called into existence; and in the same way, towards the conclusion of the second stage which we have now reached, another and a far deeper defect is made clearly perceptible; and the whole royal period has simply served, in its highest aspect, to excite and illuminate the consciousness of this, which was to produce consequences of such infinite gravity. This perhaps caused the expectation of the Messiah to retreat further and further back in common life, as the words of the Deuteronomist prove;[3] but it never actually ceased, not even in the very moderate anticipations of Jeremiah or in the rest of the better prophets of his age, only in them it becomes more subdued and tranquil.[4] That a new law was needful quite different from Deuteronomy, that a new covenant must be concluded between the true community and the true God, was now the main idea deep in the heart of the ancient community, and in what manner this could be effected was the great question of the next and last stage of the history.

And yet it may be anticipated with confidence that the ruin of a national polity in Israel which had begun centuries before and was at length consummated, will not turn out an unmitigated evil for the higher destiny of the people; on the other hand, within the rough rind of this earthly bitterness the fruit of future energy is ripening, which, although naturally belonging to it, had yet been incapable of developing itself in it with proper purity. The proud and elevated confidence which had inspired every valiant man in Israel from the days of Moses and Joshua, and again after Samuel and David, only maintained its independence and freedom in the very few spirits of power, and the very rare moments of elevation, which characterise the history: in common minds and under ordinary circumstances it supported itself on the actually prevailing religion, and the national consciousness which was so closely linked with it. And so the individual felt himself carried

[1] P. 239 sq.

[2] Jer. iii. 16 sq., xxxi. 31–34, xxxii. 39 sq.; and again in Ezek. xi. 19 sq., xviii. 31, xxxvi. 25–28.

[3] P. 226.

[4] Jer. xxiii. 5 sq., xxxiii. 14–16; cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 20–30.

along by society at large. It was only as the God of Israel, that Jahveh was his God. The dissolution of the general body after it had gradually attained its prime under David and Solomon, and the disappearance, along with the outward power of the ancient religion, of that trust which had hitherto been the strongest support of the individual, involved one of two consequences to the religion. Either it must perish in its inmost essence, or it must render the individual independent of all its earlier show, and habituate him to trust in its deeper powers, and to hold fast to such of its new truths as had not before been brought into sufficient prominence. There thus arose a struggle on the part of innumerable individuals with the hostile circumstances which threatened to destroy the ancient religion. But while its hidden and enduring force, questioned and importuned by thousands in a thousand needs, begins really to make men look for the treasures it contains and tempt them out, and on its firm base bids new and kindred truths shoot forth with gladness from the obscurity in which they had lain too long, all this time it was sinking deeper and deeper with its peculiar power and security into the mind and heart of individuals, and in spite of the disappearance of the national polity, and in the midst of the supremacy of victorious heathens or of potentates in Israel with heathen tendencies, it still taught them to hold all the faster to its eternal truths. And so the old might and the old trust of Israel as a nation may be irrevocably destroyed, but individuals are learning to put a purer and therefore a firmer confidence in the truth of the ancient religion. The whole visible position which it has attained in the world may be overthrown, but, unobserved, its spirit has already renewed its youth a thousand times in individuals, and will in the same way rise again with fresh strength in a thousand new worlds. A closer examination of all the historical remains proves the fact of this remarkable change. It may be traced with the greatest clearness in that book which best reveals the most secret workings of the heart through all those centuries, namely, the Psalter,[1] and in no single psalm more profoundly than in the seventy-third. The contest was certainly laborious and wearisome. In the first portion of the age which succeeded Solomon's, the ancient national confidence was as yet but little broken.[2] Trust in the

[1] This is the result of the modern methods of exact historical investigation, which appears in a more perfect form in a new edition of the *Dichter des A. B.* i. *b*. The wide difference in this respect between the first and last epochs of the post-Solomonic age may be recognised on a small scale in the two songs which are now (p. 58 *note* 1 sq.) joined together to make Ps. xxvii.

[2] P. 57 sq.

national religion, especially when it is so elevated and true as the ancient Israelite religion was, has ever most pride and most tenacity, and all this had now to give way to the struggles and the searchings, the doubts and the new faith of the individual. Yet towards the conclusion of this post-Solomonic era we observe the secret preparation of the new triumph of the ancient religion which was undergoing so violent a change; and we may conjecture that even in the obscure and painful future which it is now to encounter after the complete ruin of its national polity, this religion, at any rate, will escape being shattered too.

Parallel with the fortunes of the religion, to the essence of which the many faithful, in the midst of the growing evils attendant on the dissolution of the ancient state, were yet never false, was the destiny of the human monarchy. For many centuries in Judah it had maintained its stability in the house of David, and now it was destroyed, not by the fault of the people, in revolt or treachery, but simply by a foreign power: and it fell only with the outward fall of the realm itself. Long ago had risen the happy faith that David should always have (so God had willed) some young scion to sit on his throne at the holy place, not because his often unworthy successors deserved it, but simply from special divine favour for their great ancestor, the great founder of the royal line.[1] So inseparable was the link which united the expectation of the everlasting permanence of true religion in Israel with the memory of the great king, his family, and his holy city; and so true is it that even human monarchy, where it has nearly succeeded in fulfilling its highest task, contains a blessing which time can with difficulty exhaust, and whose consequences may endure for ever. The Davidic monarchy, which was thus firmly inwoven with the most sacred memories and hopes of Israel, not having fallen through the people's fault, the still surviving members of the royal house as well as the whole nation seem to be involved in most grievous suffering; but the duration of this special line remained as a thread that all might see and hold to, and gathered round it a large portion of all those immortal Messianic hopes which constituted the

[1] The standing expression 1 Kings xi. 36, xv. 4, 2 Kings viii. 19, must, like the similar one explained in vol. iii. p. 288 *note* 2, refer to a celebrated oracle. The word נִיר, although in Ezr. Apoc. [1 Esdras] viii. 79 it is taken as *φωστήρ*, and the LXX do not know what to make of it, is equivalent to young shoot, properly light, following the well-known connexion of these ideas; just as אוֹרֹת, 2 Kings iv. 39, Is. xxvi. 19, mean young shoots, properly little lights. The meaning of newly broken ground also attaches itself to that of the young shoot. The word נִיר led a later poet, in Ps. cxxxii. 17, to the very different image of נֵר, the *lamp*, which according to the custom of heathen nations, was placed over the grave of a sacred person, and by its constant burning symbolised his immortality.

foundation of the higher thoughts of the nation. This was the reason why Jehoiachin,[1] who, after the eyes of Zedekiah were put out, was in every respect the proper king, remained, as we know, in spite of his imprisonment, the object of the deepest love and yearning of all the faithful.[2] Even in the midst of its violent fall, it seemed to them impossible that the monarchy of Israel could have been really destroyed, because neither it nor the nation had yet achieved their supreme and ultimate destiny.

[1] See p. 263 sq.
[2] According to Lam. iv. 20; cf. ii. 9. See further, vol. v.

APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE FIRST TWO PERIODS OF THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

We have seen[1] what are the periods into which the course of this history till the fall of the ancient kingdom may be divided, and what amount of definite chronological data may be still discovered throughout. While we observed that the determination of the date of separate events can be effected with more completeness in proportion to the lateness of their occurrence, and to the proximity of the materials for their description to the time when they actually happened, we still found more definite points for the earlier periods than might be expected on the first glance. The last four hundred years, however, afford the additional facility of a more continuous comparison of the chronology of this history with that of foreign nations.[2]

In order to fix in the rest of contemporaneous history the place of these four hundred years after the disruption of the Davidic monarchy, and so of all that we know from still earlier ages, the first step necessary is the discovery of points where the chronology of the history of Israel links itself quite firmly with that of some other nation which is securely established on independent grounds. Only one such point presents itself within the limits of the Old Testament itself, towards the conclusion of the whole period. After the total destruction of the polity of Israel, the writers under the Chaldean supremacy began to reckon their years either by the Chaldean chronology alone, or by that in conjunction with their native computation; and so we know

[1] Vol. i. p. 204 sqq.

[2] An attempt was made very early to compute the chronology of the two kingdoms from their disruption, both by the kings in detail, and, as a whole, by the data of the Old Testament, and to remove the difficulties attendant on such a process (some of which we have already discussed); but, unfortunately, we no longer possess in their original form the earliest and best works of this class, which already date from before Christ. For the estimates of later writers see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. p. 337 sq., and Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 21, 29. According to Syrian extracts (in Lagarde's *Ann. Syr.* p. 120) the destruction of the temple took place four hundred and forty-one years after its erection. According to Hamza's *Arab. Ann.* p. 92 sq., the kingdom of Judah lasted three hundred and ninety-four years (in which the eight years of Jehoram are reckoned in the reign of Jehoshaphat); and, according to a computation in Maqrîzi (Sacy's *Chrestom.* i. p. 110), the kingdom of the Ten Tribes lasted two hundred and fifty-one years. Some modern attempts to fix the details with more exactness may be seen in Clinton's *Fast. Hell.* i. pp. 314–29, and in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1851, Oct. p. 217 sqq. Compare, also, the remarks above, p. 206.

from several passages[1] that Jerusalem was taken in the nineteenth year of the reign of Nabuchodrozzor. The chronology of these Babylonian kings is known to us, however, with great exactness, partly through the Ptolemaic Canon of the Kings which begins with Nabonassar in 747 B.C., and partly through the descriptions of eclipses observed in Babylon transmitted by Cl. Ptolemæus, and confirmed by modern calculation.[2] Assuming, then, that the Babylonian monarchy fell by the conquest of Cyrus in the year 538 B.C., the nineteenth year of Nabuchodrozzor's reign, and, with it, the destruction of Jerusalem by him, fall in the year 586 B.C.;[3] and from this point the antecedent years are to be determined.

The only objection that can be brought against this arises from the chronology in the book of Ezekiel. In this book the years are reckoned from the deportation of Jehoiachin,[4] which was placed, as every indication forces us to conclude, twelve years before the destruction of Jerusalem; but just at the beginning, apparently with the purpose of explaining this chronology, which was current only among the Israelites deported to Babylonia, by that which was better known in those countries, the thirtieth year is given as corresponding with the fifth year of Ezekiel's computation; and there is no doubt that this was the thirtieth year of the chronology then in use all over Babylonia. What this chronology was, however, is not known to us from any other sources. Supposing that it commenced with the first year of Nabopolassar as the first powerful Babylonian king, 625 B.C.,

[1] The passages from the book of Kings, 2 Kings xxiv. 12, xxv. 8, Jer. lii. 12, are in harmony with Jer. xxv. 1, xxxii. 1; they, therefore, afford a secure basis. It is clear, however, from a passage inserted in Jer. lii. 28–30 (see p. 266 *note* 1), that others placed the beginning of Nabuchodrozzor's reign a year later; hence, Josephus, *Contr. Ap.* i. 21, puts the eighteenth year instead of the nineteenth; this might happen if the beginning of the year fell in Babylonia in the autumn, not as in Israel in the spring. If the year of the deportation of Jehoiachin (p. 263 sq.) is reckoned not as the eleventh, but, as might be justly expected, and as is confirmed by Ezek. xxxiii. 21, as the twelfth year before the destruction of Jerusalem, a further explanation is afforded of the way in which the thirty-seventh year of this chronology, 2 Kings xxv. 27, Jer. lii. 31, may correspond to the forty-third and last year of the reign of Nabuchodrozzor.

[2] Compare Ideler *Handbuch der Chronol.* i. p. 109 sqq., 222, and in the *Berl. Akad. Abhandll.* 1816. The result of the astronomical calculations is that Nabopolassar did not reign twenty-nine years, as appears in Jos. *Contr. Ap.* i. 19, but twenty-one years, as is stated in Jos. *Ant.* x. 11. 1, following Berosus, and in the Ptolemaic Canon of the Kings. The calculation of the years of the Babylonian kings by a later chronologer in Ang. Mai's *Nova Coll. Script. Vet.* vol. i. pt. ii. p. 31 differs widely from the Ptolemaic Canon in the period before Nabopolassar, but does not seem to be by any means more trustworthy.—The latest attempts of modern times have not led to any greater certainty; see the essays of Rawlinson, Hincks, and Bosanquet in the *As. Journ.* 1855, 1861, pp. 378–392, and 1864, pp. 145–180; *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 172.

[3] On account of a special computation of the months, Clinton in the *Fast. Hell.* i. p. 319 prefers the year 587 B.C.—It is remarkable, however, that the number 588 lies at the basis of the calculation in Dan. ix. 21–27, see the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* xii. p. 54. New and important evidence has been obtained (according to the *Propheten des A. B.*, 2nd ed. iii. p. 421 sqq.) in favour of this year being the year of the destruction of Jerusalem; if other considerations should (as I believe) confirm this, all the previous dates will have to be increased by two years. Compare, also, the numbers in Eutychii *Ann.* i. p. 343, and in Lagarde's *Ann. Syr.* p. 120.

[4] P. 263 sq.

which is a very natural conjecture, we should get instead of the year 593 B.C., which we should expect from our previous computation, the year 596 B.C., which would be two or three years too much. Meanwhile we are wholly ignorant of what event was taken as the commencement of the Babylonian era; and it is not clear why it need have been the very first year of Nabopolassar's reign. It would be preferable to suppose it was the era of Babylonian freedom, when the Assyrian yoke was cast off; and reasons have been already assigned for the conclusion[1] that this event may have taken place in the second or third year of Nabopolassar's reign.

We thus obtain in the contemporary history of the powerful Chaldean kings a fixed point for the insertion of the whole chronology of Israel into the general history of the world. There are, indeed, other places in the old Testament during these four hundred years where contemporary Assyrian, Tyrian, and Egyptian kings are also named. But in earlier ages no writer in Israel would have thought it worthy of the dignity either of himself or his nation to calculate the time by the reigns of foreign as well as of native kings; or if, as is possible, descendants of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes wrote any such works under the Assyrians, they are all lost. The information we derive, however, from other sources, about the chronology of those foreign kingdoms, is in harmony, when carefully investigated, with the firm basis acquired for the chronology of the kingdoms of Israel; but it does not yet stand upon such sure foundations as our knowledge of the Chaldean chronology.

We know with tolerable certainty the length of the reign of each of the Assyrian kings after Pul mentioned in the Old Testament;[2] but we cannot fix on the year of either the beginning or the end of any one of their reigns; and consequently we are as yet unable to find their exact place in contemporary history. With regard to Sennacherib, however, it is evident that he did not become king till some time after the destruction of Samaria in 719 B.C. and before the siege of Jerusalem in the year 711; hence we assume that his reign commenced in 713 B.C.[3]

The chronology of the Tyrian kings stands in a somewhat different

[1] P. 255 sq.

[2] In the enumeration of these kings in Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* ii. p. 23 there are no numbers given at all; Samuel of Ani, in his Chronicle (at the end of the Milanese edition of the Armenian Eusebius), which is based on ancient authorities, reckons 16 years for Pul, 27 for Tiglath-Pileser, 16 for Shalmaneser, and 18 for Sennacherib. The last number is also found in Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. p. 43, following Alex. Polyhistor. The numbers in Elijah's Syrian Chronology are not yet printed (see *Catal. Codd. Syr. Mus. Brit.* p. 87); and Moses' Choren. *Arm. Hist.* i. 22 only repeats the error of Eusebius, that there were only 88 years between Sennacherib and Nabuchodrozzor. The numbers in the list of the Chronography printed in Angelo Mai's *Nova Coll. Script. Vet.* vol. i. pt. ii. p. 24, are somewhat contracted; Pul 14, Tiglath-Pileser 23, Shalmaneser 15, Sennacherib 16, Assorom (i.e. Asarhaddon) 15 years. Some modern works which treat of the connexion of Assyrian and Israelite history from the side of chronology, I have discussed in the *Götting. Gel. Anz.* 1853, pp. 134–136; the special point there investigated is, whether it is necessary materially to shorten this whole period of about 400 years.

[3] See further remarks on p. 178 sqq.

position. Josephus, while he could not avail himself of any special work on the history of the Assyrian kings, had before him very reliable authorities on that of the Tyrian, which extended at least as far back as the age of David.[1] Unfortunately, although he has preserved to us some very important fragments of these works, they are entirely disconnected, and do not enable us to restore any continuous chronology. The most important point for us to note is the calculation of the years of the Tyrian kings from the destruction of Jerusalem. During the reign of Ithobal (the date of the commencement of which we do not know), Nabuchodrozzor besieged Tyre for thirteen years. Then followed the reign of Baal for ten years, after which different judges governed for seven years and a quarter. These were succeeded by Balator, who reigned one year, Merbal four, and Hirom twenty years; and in the fourteenth year of this latter prince Cyrus became king (of course, as Josephus always means, over Babylon). These would amount together to fifty-four years and a quarter,[2] or, better, fifty-five and a quarter. Subtracting from the twenty years of Hirom's reign the six just mentioned, there remain forty-nine and a quarter, or, in round numbers, forty-nine years. Now, supposing that the siege of Tyre began in the seventh—or, better, in the seventeenth[3]—year of Nabuchodrozzor, say in the year 588 B.C.,[4] there would be a period of fifty years till the reign of Cyrus in Babylon. It further follows from this, that if the restoration of the temple began in the second year of the reign of Cyrus, it must have lain (according to Josephus) fifty years in ruins,[5] supposing first that Jerusalem (as assumed above) was destroyed in 586 B.C., and secondly, that the year of its destruction is reckoned in. In this way a complete harmony is established between the fragment from the history of Tyre communicated by Josephus, and the computation of the year of the destruction of Jerusalem derived from a wholly different source. And this is of the greatest importance for the general chronology of the history.

Of the Egyptian kings we should possess a continuous chronology, could we depend entirely on Manetho's statements of the lengths of the reigns of individual kings and dynasties, as they have been transmitted to us in various later works. But it is well known how far Manetho's dates are from agreeing either with each other, or with other

[1] *Ant.* viii. 3. 1, 5. 3, 14. 2, x. 11. 1, 2, *Contr. Ap.* i. 18–21. Cf. Theoph. *Ad. Autol.* iii. 21 sq.

[2] These numbers, however, really give fifty-five years and a quarter, and this number appears, therefore, to be the more correct.

[3] That the number seven, as it stands in the text, is erroneous, may be proved from the calculation which Josephus here makes, and further evidence is supplied by the mention of the twenty-seventh year of Jehoiachin, Ezek. xxix. 17, when Nabuchodrozzor raised the siege of Tyre. The deduction of the thirteen years of the siege from these twenty-seven, or rather twenty-six years, would lead us to conclude that the siege of Tyre had not begun till a little later than was represented above; but when Ezekiel made use of this expression at the beginning of the twenty-seventh year, the siege may have been already raised one or two years.

[4] P. 270.

[5] How some chronologers could make the duration of Israel's captivity only forty-seven years, e.g. in Ang. Mai's *Nova Coll. Vet. Script.* vol. i. pt. ii. p. 31, is clear from what has been said above.

ancient traditions, and even the great industry displayed by modern investigators in their attempts to shed light upon this obscurity has not yet succeeded in always making a trustworthy beginning. The assumption that the disruption of the Davidic monarchy took place four hundred years before 586 B.C. would be incorrect, if Shishak did not come to the throne according to Rosellini till the year 972 B.C., according to Bunsen till the year 982, according to Böckh [1] not even till 934, or, at the earliest, in the year 957. But in all these attempts it is assumed beforehand that Bocchoris, the only king of the twenty-fourth dynasty, did not reign more than six years, as is stated by Georgius Syncellus, following Julius Africanus. Other authorities, however, state that he reigned forty-four years; and it seems in itself scarcely probable that the reign of a king whose wise administration was so copiously described by later writers, and who at length succumbed in a struggle with Ethiopian sovereigns, should have lasted so short a time. And so in this province of history, also, there will still remain much for future investigation to decide.[2]

Further valuable aid would be gained could we rely on the exactness of the reckoning from the destruction of Samaria which prevailed among the Jews in the north-eastern districts.[3] But probably this is not their original chronology, and was only introduced in opposition to that of Ezekiel. There must certainly have been many among the Israelites there who were descended from the Ten Tribes; but nothing more definite can now be said about it. I may, however, remark that the attempts to reject these inscriptions as spurious, like that to cast suspicion on the Karaites and their ancient manuscripts of the Bible, seem to me entirely groundless.

[1] *Manetho und die Hundssternperiode* (Berlin, 1845), pp. 315–320.

[2] Much has certainly been done in the last ten years in the investigation of this period of Egyptian history also by deciphering hieroglyphic inscriptions; but it has hitherto been impossible to discover in them any continuous chronology, or even to restore one from isolated numbers. Compare R. Lepsius' *Königsbuch der alten Aegypter*, Berlin, 1858, and further the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1858, pp. 1441–58, Rougé in the *Athénée franç.* 1855, p. 1083 sqq., *Revue archéol.* 1862, p. 162 sqq. The general drift at present is to make the chronology shorter by some decades; Niebuhr began this by his groundless assumption that the reign of Manasseh must be diminished by twenty years, because his son and successor was so young at his accession. No more solid proof has yet been forthcoming. I therefore leave my previous statements unchanged.

[3] On this subject comp. further, vol. v. p. 496 sq. and see the latest results in A. Neubauer's *Beiträge und Documenten zur Geschichte des Karäerthums*, Leipzig, 1866, p. 29 sqq. To the remarks in v. p. 496 I may add that the expression *Matarkian* now seems to me abbreviated from *Taman-Türk* (the Turkish Taman in the Crimea): comp. التامى, in Fürst's *Qaräer*, ii. p. 97.

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE

Egypt	Canaanites	Edom	Israel	
B.C.			B.C.	
The 17th and 18th Dynasty			1932 Israel in Egypt	
			1502 Moses	
			1460 Joshua	
			1420 Othniel	
			1385 Ehud	
		King Bela	1345 Jair; then Shamgar	
	King Jabin; Sisera	King Jobab	1305 Deborah and Barak	
		King Husham	1265 Gideon; then king Abimelech	
		King Hadad		
21*st* (*Tanitic*) *Dynasty*	*Tyre*	King Samlah	1185 Jephthah; Samson	
		King Saul	1145 Eli	
		King Baal-hanan	1105 Samuel	
			1085 King Saul	
	Hiram I.	King Hadad	1066–55 King David; king Ishbosheth	
	Abibal		1058 David king of all Israel	
			1057 Jerusalem made the capital	
About 1030, Psusennes	1033 Hiram II.			
		Hadad	1025 King Solomon	
			1022–1015 Erection of the Temple	
	999 Baleazar		1015–1003 Erection of the Palace	
About 994, 22*nd* (*Bubastic*) *Dynasty.* Shishak	992 Abdastart		996 Death of Solomon; Disruption of the Kingdom	
			Judah	*Israel*
			B.C.	
	983	Genubat	985 King Rehoboam	King Jeroboam
			981 Shishak conquers Jerusalem	
About 974. Osorchon reigns 15 years	971 Astart		968 King Abijah	B.C.
	959 Aserymos		965 King Asa	963 King Nadab
	950 Pheles			961 King Baasha
	949 Ithobal I., father of Jezebel			937 King Elah
				935 Kings Zimri, Tibni, Omri
				931 King Omri alone
	917 Badezor		917 King Jehoshaphat	919 King Ahab; Eliiah
	911 Matgen			897 King Ahaziah
	902 Pygmalion, till	Fresh rising against Judah	893 King Jehoram	895 King Jehoram; Elisha
			885 King Ahaziah	883 King Jehu.
			883 Queen Athaliah	
			877 King Jehoash; Joel	
	855		854 Repairs of the Temple	855 King Jehoahaz
			837 King Amaziah	839 King Jehoash; Death of Elisha
				823 King Jeroboam II.
			808 King Uzziah; Amos	From about 780 onwards, the prophet Hosea

TWO FIRST PERIODS OF THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

Moab	Ammon	Arameans	Assyria	Babylon	Media
King Balak		About 1420 B.C. Chushan, king of Mesopotamia			
King Eglon					
	King Nahash	Hadadezer, king of Zobah. Toi king of Hamath			
	King Hanun, grandfather of Rehoboam				
		Damascus Rezon			
		Hezion or Hezron			
		Tabrimmon			
		Benhadad I.			
		Benhadad II.			
King Mesha		Hazael			
		Benhadad III.			
			Shalman		

Egypt	Canaanites	Edom	Israel	
	Tyre		*Judah*	*Israel*
B.C.	B.C.		B.C.	B.C.
				770 Zachariah king for six months, followed by Shallum and Qobol-am for one month, and then
				769 King Menahem
				759 King Pekahiah
			757 Death of Uzziah; appearance of Isaiah	757 King Pekah
26th (Ethiopic) Dynasty			756 King Jotham	
728 Seveh II.			740 King Ahaz	
	Elulæus, reigns 36 years		724 King Hezekiah; Micah	728 King Hoshea 721 Samaria besieged 719 Destruction of Samaria
714 Tirhakah; Sethon in Lower Egypt			711 Jerusalem besieged by the Assyrians	
			Judah	
			695 King Manasseh; Death of Isaiah	
26th (Saitic) Dynasty				
671 Psammetichus				
			640 King Amon	
			638 King Josiah	
			630 Zephaniah	
			626 Jeremiah begins to prophesy	
			624 (about) The Scythians in Palestine	
617 Necho			621 Deuteronomic Reforms	
			608 Battle of Megiddo; Death of Josiah; Deportation of Jehoahaz to Egypt	
			607 King Jehoiakim an Egyptian vassal	
			605 Battle of Carchemish; March of the Chaldeans across the Euphrates	
601 Psammis			600 Judah subdued by the Chaldeans; Habakkuk	
			597 First Revolt against the Chaldeans; Death of King Jehoiakim; Deportation of King Jehoiachin	
596 Hophra (Apries), till			596 King Zedekiah a vassal of Chaldea	
			593 Journey of Zedekiah to Babylon	
			589 Second Revolt against the Chaldeans	
	588 Ithobal II. Siege of Tyre by the Chaldeans, till	Greater power	588 Beginning of the Siege of Jerusalem	
			586 Destruction of Jerusalem	
570	576			

Moab	Ammon	Arameans	Assyria	Babylon	Media
		Damascus			
B.C.		B.C.	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.
			About 772, Pul		
		King Rezin	756 Tiglath-Pileser	747 Nabonassar	
				733 Nadi	
				731 Chinzer	
		Damascus destroyed about 730	729 Shalmanezer	726 Ilulä	
			Sargon	721 Mardokempad (Merodach Baladan)	
			713 Sennacherib		
			711 His expedition against Egypt	709 Arkean	Liberation of Media
				704 Interregnum	
				702 Bilib	
				699 Aparanadi	
			695 Asarhaddon I.	693 Regebel	
				692 Mesesi-Mordak	
			680 Asarhaddon II.	(Asaridin)	
			667 Sammuges	667 Saosduchin	657 Phraortes
			646 His Brother	647 Kiniladan	
			636 First siege of Nineveh, Nahum		635 Cyaxares
			630 Second siege of Nineveh; irruption of the Scythians into Asia		
			626 Sarak (Sardanapalus)	625 Nabopolassar	
				623 Babylon independent	
			Conquest of Nineveh, about 606		
				604 Nabuchodrozzor, till 562	
	King Baalis		593 Ezekiel begins to prophesy		595 Astyages
581 Chaldean war against Moab and Ammon					

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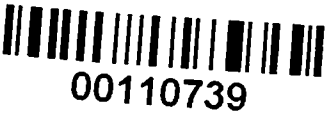
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